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THE CAYAPA: A STUDY IN LEGAL BEHAVIOR

Milton Altschuler, 1964

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Anthropology

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[Introductory, p. v]

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1965

THE CAYAPA:
A STUDY IN LEGAL BEHAVIOR

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

By
Milton Altschuler

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

July, 1964

[Title Page]
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To Irene

who earned it

[P ii]

PREFACE

The field work among the Cayapa Indians of Esmeraldas province in Western Ecuador upon which this thesis is based, was carried out from August 19, 1959 to October 25, 1960. The field research was financed by a Doherty Foundation Fellowship and a research grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service. 101 122

The main focus of the research was in the area of social control through law and government. A dimension of great significance for the study was supplied by the functional realist approach to law propounded both in text and the lecture-room by Professor E. Adamson Hoebel. Professor Hoebel made it very clear that Law is a living operation, and the product of living beings whose personalities have been shaped by a living culture. Working through the matrix of culture and personality, Law has in some societies reached heights of human magnificence and orderly elegance, and perhaps as often, in some of the ethnographic backwaters, 121

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the Law displays its all too human frailties. This study in Cayapa legal behavior portrays a people with very many, very human, frailties which are revealed through the dynamics of Law, Government, and Personality.

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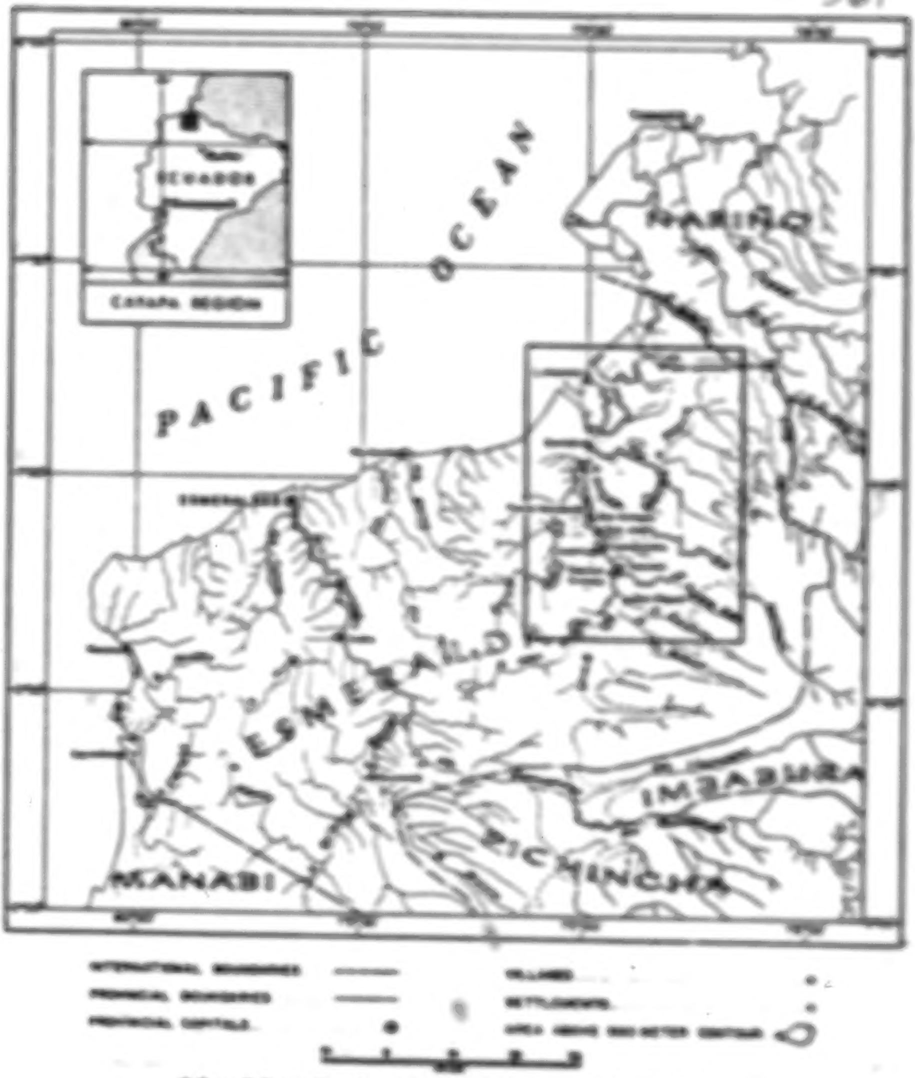
PACIFIC OCEAN
NARIÑO
ESMERALDAS
IMBABURA
PICHINCHA
MANABI
ECUADOR
CAYAPA REGION
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
PROVINCIAL CAPITALS
VILLAGES
SETTLEMENTS

ESMERALDAS PROVINCE, ECUADOR

CHAPTER I

THE CAYAPA, THEIR TERRITORY AND ECONOMY

The Pacific lowlands of the province of Darien in southeastern Panama; Colombia; and the northern part of the province of Esmeraldas Ecuador, may be thought of as a geographical and cultural unit.

> If the area has any physical unity, it is to be found in the hot, humid climate and the vegetation cover of dense tropical rain forest. . . . The Area's position between 1° and 8° north of the equator gives it high year round temperatures and contributes to an almost continuous relative humidity above 90 per cent . . . Culturally the area is one chiefly because of its predominant Negroid population; because of a common way of life based mainly on subsistence agriculture, fishing, and primitive mining . . . Today nearly 80 per cent of the extant population of the lowlands is Negroid, with a large proportion of unmixed African blood. This area, then, may be considered one of the major Negroid areas of Latin America . . . The few Whites and Mestizos of the area are found mainly in the larger trading towns, mining camps, and seaports (West 1957:3).

At the southern limits of the Pacific lowland area, in Ecuador, live the Cayapa Indians. Their lives and culture center about the *Río Cayapas* and its tributaries. At its lower reaches, the river forms a right angle with the *Río Santiago*, and together they make up the second largest drainage system in the northwestern part of the province of Esmeraldas. The confluence of the two rivers lies approximately at 1°5' north latitude, or about 90 miles due north of the equator, and 78°59' west longitude. The area is a tropical rain forest because of the very cold Humboldt Current that flows along much of the Ecuadorian coast, however, extremely dense clouds usually cover the area as far inland as the foothills of the Andes, and moderate the temperatures. They range from 65° to 75° Fahrenheit at night and from 70° to 90° during the daytime, depending upon the amount of cloud cover. Generally, the sky is a very bright overcast. When the cloud cover lessens, the sky is an intense hot blue. There are no weather stations in the *Río Cayapas* area, and consequently we have no readings of any significance. Barrett (1925:4) estimated the annual rainfall on the *Río Santiago* at between 24.63 feet to 26.46 feet. Since the distances between the *Río Santiago* and the *Río Cayapas* are not very great, Barrett's observations may reasonably be applied to the Cayapa area as well.

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[illegible]

The low alluvial coastal area of the Cayapas- 133

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Santiago drainage system is fringed by a sandy beach and backed by a brackish mangrove forest swamp that extends inland for some two to four miles, at which point a slight elevation--no more than four to six feet above low tide--begins to be noticed. When one moves up past the town of Borbon, at the confluence of the two major rivers, the countryside takes on the appearance of a fairly flat plain. As one approaches the mouth of the Río Camarones, which lies at the right hand side as one moves up the Río Cayapas, a marked change in the character of the landscape begins to emerge. Hills thickly covered with green bush and tree growth become more frequent, although they are not too precipitous, ranging from 90 to about 150 feet in height. The predominant color pattern is green, brown, and grey. The main river, especially in flood, is brown-green. Skies are generally bright grey and the vegetation on all sides fall in innumerable shades of green. Occasionally, along the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas huge clumps of water hyacynths float like bright purple rafts towards the sea.

[137]

Normally, the Río Cayapas flows quite gently, for the rise in altitude is slight until the actual foothills of the Andes are reached. Thus, for example, Punta Venado, which is approximately 49 kilometers from the mouth of the river, has an altitude of 12 meters as compared to Telembí, approximately 77.5 kilometers from the river's mouth, which has an altitude of 22 meters (Wolf 1879:35). The volume of the waters carried by the rivers varies considerably. Depending upon the amount of rainfall, I have seen a rise and fall in the level of the Río Camarones of well over twenty feet within five hours. The rivers of this system cut through heavy clay soil, and the banks are not part of a flood plain but immediately form part of the hilly interior that is characteristic of the hinterland. The soil is predominantly a heavy saturated clay that is mostly reddish brown in color. 193 194

Language. The Cayapa and the Colorado Indians who live in the tropical highlands about seventy miles down the western slopes of the Andes from Quito share the distinction of being the last two aboriginal groups in western Ecuador. Their languages, although not mutually intelligible, are closely related. Recently, B. Moore worked out some phonetic correspondences between 197 [101]

Cayapa and Colorado and thereby systematically proved the relationship that had always been assumed on purely inspectional grounds (Moore 1962). The most recent classification proposed by Greenberg places Cayapa-Colorado within the sub family called Paezan, which together with Chibchan proper belongs to the Macro-Chibchan family (Greenberg 1956). This classification is similar to that proposed by Mason (Mason 1950:183). A claim that Cayapa is closely related to Mayan is proposed by Professor Aquiles R. Perez T.; however, the documentation is not convincing at present (Perez 1960: 691-694).

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History. The first actually reliable information on the Cayapa comes from the pen of W. B. Stevenson, who visited them briefly in 1809. At that time, there was but one group of Cayapa (those who lived in the vicinity of Punta Venado). The chief, or alcalde, as Stevenson called him, carried a "baston, insignia of authority" which he presented to Stevenson. He then ordered the Indians to obey Stevenson ". . . and they advanced one after another to kiss the head of the baston, and accompanied me to the house of the alcalde, which was

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"situated about thirty yards from the river side" (Stevenson 1829:400). Unfortunately, Stevenson's description of Cayapa life was meager, for he was much more interested in the Malába, a group of reportedly wild Indians who lived along the *Río San Miguel*, a tributary of the *Río Cayapas*. The Cayapa were as loathe to visit the Malába as Stevenson was eager to do so. After some hesitation, the *alcalde*, having been promised various gifts, ordered two men to take Stevenson up river. It is of considerable interest to note that the Cayapa chief had sufficient authority to order two of his people to accompany Stevenson into the land of the "savage" Malába. Stevenson reported that the Malába were quite gentle and that they spoke a variant of Quechua, a language spoken throughout the Andes from Ecuador to Peru and Bolivia. The Malába no longer exist as an ethnic group; however, this is the term used by the present day Cayapa to designate a group of evil spirits that dwell somewhere in the *monte* or bush.

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It would appear, given the position of the Cayapa near the lower reaches of the *Río Cayapas* and the Malába at its upper reaches, that the migration of the Cayapa from their ancient Andean homeland, as stated in

174

their traditional tales probably took place by way of 174
the Río Santiago until the confluence with the Río
Cayapas was reached; thence, movement was up the Río
Cayapas.

In 1879 Wolf marked on his map of Esmeraldas 175
province a "town"--that is, a center of habitation named 13
San Miguel de Cayapas and in 1894 Basurco recorded Cay-
apa living up the Río Sapallo Grande and the Río San
Miguel. The latter group is reported to have an alcalde [622
(Basurco 1894:414). Between 1809 and 1879 the Malába had 174]
apparently been replaced by the Cayapa. By 1908 Barrett 619
reported definitely that the Cayapa were divided into 631
three tribal groups: Punta Venado, Sapallo Grande, and 175
San Miguel. Each group was reported as having its own [622
ceremonial center and being led by an /ún^{y}i/ or gober- 178]
nador. During my 1959-1960 field trip, I was told by 619
Gabriel Anapa, the /ún^{y}i/ of the Punta Venado group, 631
that some twenty-five years earlier a group of people 578
had left the Sapallo Grande section and had formed a [622]
new tribal unit with its own /ún^{y}i/. They left after
a dispute with the /ún^{y}i/ of Sapallo grande concerning
the re-establishment of Pueblo Viejo, the ancient
center in the mountainous upper reaches of the Río

Santiago drainage system. The dissident group claimed that the Saints were stronger in the old area and would be of greater help to the Cayapa. The new group settled in Sapallito, where they have their own ceremonial center, but for reasons unknown they did not return to Pueblo Viejo. Factionalism apparently accounts for some of the tribal fission. 619 631 578

Settlement Patterns. In 1879 the banks of the Río Cayapas almost as far down as Borbon, a town at the confluence of the Río Santiago and the Río Cayapas, were inhabited by Cayapa Indians while Negroes were found mainly along the Río Santiago (Wolf 1879). By 1894 Borbon had become a Negro town, and the lower reaches of Cayapa settlement had retreated up stream toward the area of the Río Onzole. At this time, about twenty-three Negroes were reported by Basurco to be living at Telembí, a "village" of three houses about 77.5 kilometers from the mouth of the Río Cayapas. The Negroes had been given special permission by the Cayapa to live there provided they did not pan for gold which was found occasionally. (Basurco 1894). In 1960 Telembí was a thriving Negro village of several hundred people, and the greater part 101 131 177

[135]

of the population of the Río Cayapas up to Sapallo 101
Grande was Negro. Isolated Negro enclaves are found 131
today as far up as San Miguel. Negroes tend to live in 177
village settlements, some of which are of political and/or economic importance, while the Cayapa live scattered along the river banks. The town of San José, which lies a few miles below the Río Camerones, is the administrative center for the area. San Antonio, which is located a few miles above Punta Venado, is of considerable commercial importance as it is readily accessible to the small coastal vessels engaged in the banana trade.

The most characteristic feature of the area is 361
its riverine quality, and settlement and movement centers 484
on the rivers for both Indians and Negroes. The large 311
hilly land areas between the rivers are completely 487
uninhabited, and the dense jungle growth makes foot travel exceedingly difficult. Except for short hunting trips or to secure trees for the making of canoes, the jungle or monte is avoided. The river, on the other hand, is open and free. The river scene is
seldom a quiet one. People going down stream maneuver 502
their canoes into mid-channel, taking full advantage 501

of the current. Those going up-stream hug the bank as the pilot digs the tip of his oar blade into the bank, or if the channel is shallow enough, into the bed, and then, placing both hands about ten feet up the oar handle, he shoves back, sending the canoe ahead. 502 501

Farm land lies at varying distances back from the river. Each house is backed by a clearing which is used for garden crops or sugar cane. The main farm lands extend back from the river from one to three miles. Flat land is at a premium, and the cultivators work up and down the many hills. 311 241 [351]

Cayapa Physical Appearance. Although no systematic measurements were made, it was apparent from gross observations that Barrett's (1925:408-445) measurements are still valid. He described the Cayapas as short: 141

> . . . the men averaging only 155 cm. and the women only 146 cm. The range of individual variation among the men, as also among the women, is 14 cm. Among the men there are at least a few individuals who appeared to be somewhat taller than the maximum here given, but as a tribe the Cayapa must be considered somewhat below average in stature (Barrett 1925:409).

They appear to be mostly brachycephalic. The hair is thick, coarse, black and straight; their skin, light [illegible] brown. A few of them are tatooed on the arms and the blue of the ink stands out very clearly. Mongoloid characteristics such as the epicanthric fold, the Mongoloid spot, and high cheekbones are very common, but in contrast to the Mongoloid nose, the Cayapa nose is often bridged. Occasionally one finds individuals with very high-bridged noses of aquiline shape. Their eyes are uniformly dark brown, and the whites are seldom clear but have a brownish tinge that would seem to indicate a high incidence of liver disorders. Most Cayapa, especially the women, seem to be somewhat round-faced. The men, while short, are very well-proportioned and have tremendous strength in their arms and shoulders which probably stems from their technique of canoe handling. As a rule, the women are thick-waisted, the result, perhaps partly at least, of their characteristic canoe handling. They generally paddle in a seated position, using a very short paddle, which requires many rapid short strokes for effective maneuvering, and they necessarily have to lean forward to make efficient use of the short paddle.

Clothing and Adornment. Many men are quite

adept at tailoring, and make their own clothing. Chil- 294
dren learn from their fathers. A few men own sewing 462
machines which they sometimes rent out; some take tailor- [429]
ing orders from their less skillful neighbors. Some men [422]
may even make their wives' skirts /píhtahal^{y}i/. The man
wears western-style trousers with pegged cuffs that are
shaped to permit easier gathering of the trouser leg at
the calf, if wading should be necessary. The trousers [439]
are held up by leather belts that are purchased. The
colors of the trousers are usually dark tones of blue,
grey, khaki, or black. The Cayapa are restricted in [439]
color choice simply because the available trouser cloth
that is purchased in the coastal towns tends to come
in these shades. On the other hand, shirt material is
available in a wide variety of colors and every conceivable color combination is used, very often in
harlequin fashion.

The shirt /huwál^{y}i/ is cut in a rectangular fashion with a short slit neck which forms a 'vee' when worn. Tight short sleeves run down about three inches from the shoulders. The front and rear panels are joined together at the sides by colored stripe of varying widths. The panels may be of the same bright color, or the front may differ from the back in solid colors. Often the panels may be cut vertically or diagonally with different brightly hued colors. The shirt, which falls to knee-length, is usually bordered at the hem by the same band that joins the front and rear panels. Sometimes the multicolored hem may be overlaid with the panel material that has been cut in triangular points. This gorgeous array is usually topped off with a white plastic fedora that has been smuggled in from Colombia. If the feet are shod, they are usually encased in knee-length rubber boots. For festive occasions, the men wear lipstick and round patches of rouge on their cheeks. Sometimes they also place a round spot of rouge about an inch and a half in diameter, in the middle of their foreheads. The over-all effect is quite striking. 291 [439] 302

Some men do not use cosmetics but prefer to dress up for fiestas in western clothing that often includes underwear and transparent nylon sport shirts in white, red, blue, yellow, or green. On occasion, a man will place a bright yellow straight plastic comb in his hair. Men quite often buy wrist watches for which they have no earthly use. The watches are fairly expensive, poorly 292 177 301 177 [805] made, and seldom in working order. The brand names are obvious imitations of well known trade-marks, and men may be seen sporting watches marked "Algin," "Danrus," or "Wiltham." If queried as to the time of day, the most likely response is "just today the watch stopped working." 301 805 177

Attractive as the Cayapa male is in his festive array, the woman is clearly the fashion leader. Because she is short-legged and thick-waisted, her adornment is calculated to conceal these features and to shift attention to her face instead. Like the male, she is rouged and lip-painted. Occasionally she paints a black line across her cheeks and upper lip. Her hair, which is waist length, is fastened at the side and front with multi-colored barrettes, while the crown of the head is covered by a Juliet's cap fabricated of shiny coins. Around her shoulders and neck depend row after row of brightly-hued glass and metal beads and strings of coins. The ultimate row of baubles may fall below the hip line. Beaded ligatures may be placed on her arms, and silver rings may adorn all of her fingers except the thumbs. Around her shoulders she wears a bright 292 302 301

292
535

silk or rayon shawl which can cover her head, face 292 and breast when she is dancing. Her skirt, worn over [535] a black cotton underskirt /t^{y}ún^{y}a/, falls just below the knee and is a wrap-around in a solid color. It is embroidered at the hem in the manner of the men's shirt fashions. A belt secures the underskirt, and the overskirt is tucked in at the waist. The women spend a good deal of time adjusting the overskirt.

For dancing or for receiving the blows of the [535] cat-o'-nine-tails /ástečúwa/ as punishment, the woman [681] puts on over her usual skirts a woven wrap-around skirt made of heavy cotton and decorated with both geometric and realistic designs. Many colors are used, but blue, white, and red predominate. Since the present generation [286] of women is almost completely ignorant of the weaver's art, the skirts are seldom their own handiwork.

Manufactures. Woodworking: It is immediately 868 apparent that canoes and their handling are extremely important to all the inhabitants of the area. Young boys often begin their lessons in canoemanship by playing on the drifting logs that come down stream when the river is in flood. They tumble and splash and learn

to maintain a precarious balance. Children from about 868
the ages of nine to thirteen may have small canoes [501
/kakúle/ made for them, which may be seven to eight 524]
feet in length, and scarcely a foot in width. At these 396
ages boys begin to accompany their fathers into the 868
monte where the canoes are roughed out by axe and adze.
They learn to select the proper trees as only those [313]
that are tightly cross-grained will not split easily.
Occasionally canoes are roughed out at some height above
the creek or rivulet that feeds into the main channel
and in the process of carefully snubbing them down the
boys learn to rig lines. A large canoe, about thirty-five [461]
feet long, may require almost a dozen men to bring
it into the water from the monte, whereas a small canoe
can be brought in by two or three men. Despite the
fact that by the time the boys have reached their late
teens they have acquired a large measure of skill in
handling canoes, their canoes are nevertheless not considered
finely finished until they have had several more
years of experience.

Paddles: /yámpa/. The oar is roughed out with 3
a machete, and the finer lines are cut with a knife. 50
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[824]

The paddle is rubbed down with abrasive leaves called /l^{y}ápis háki/. In working the blade of the paddle, a longitudinal ridge is left on both surfaces:

> Along this line the blade reaches a thickness of about three-quarters of an inch. At each side of these medial lines the blade is hollowed out very much after the fashion of a hollow-ground razor; otherwise its thickness is fairly uniform. The thickness of the blade decreases slightly toward the edge, so that the edge itself at the greatest width of the blade rarely exceeds three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and it may be as thin as an eighth of an inch.
>
> The handles or poles of the paddles are ordinarily from an inch to an inch and three quarters in diameter and are almost perfectly cylindrical. They taper slightly from the blade to the upper end, or what may be called the grip. In a woman's paddle this end may be truly called the grip, and it is usually notched in more or less of a fish tail form, . . . In the case of a man's paddle, however, a purely ornamental tip is put on the end, which is almost never touched in paddling (Barrett 1925:149-150).

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Benches: /čumbúl^{y}a/. These are small seats measuring from four to eight inches in height and from four to nine inches in width. They are always cut from one piece of wood and often have two supporting surfaces. Barrett reports eight types of which I have seen but three. Most commonly these benches are composed of three flat surfaces, less commonly the seating surface is concave. Barrett should be referred to for details of style and constructio. (Barrett 1925: 154-157).

details of style and construction (Barrett 1925:154-157). 000

Dolls: /náwawa/. Dolls for children were scarce among the Cayapa of the Punta Venado section. Barrett briefly discusses dolls, and the impression received is that they were common. They were always made of a single block of wood, and were carved in both human and animal forms. No measurements are given, but they were very likely similar to the dolls of today, measuring usually twelve to thirteen inches in length and from three to four inches in width. They are most frequently carved out of Guayacan, an extremely hard wood. The one Guayacan doll in my possession is carved in two pieces. It is a seated figure, obviously of a white man, wearing a visored cap, a necktie cut in bas-relief, a jacket, breeches, and boots that are tinted reddish. He is seated in a two-legged chair which is sufficient since his own feet serve as the other two legs. The chair is fastened to the figure by two nails through the bottom, and five nails from the rear.

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[824]
[126]
[177]

At the present time, many models for play purposes are cut out of balsa in the forms of airplanes, and the forms of coastal banana boats. Other wooden articles

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Other wooden articles still made by the Cayapa include the /táči vimáso/ 'bark cloth beater,' /mačúka/ 'plantain masher,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 159-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods. 322 [412] [252] [415]

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /má^{i}mba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called conunu. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa. 534 [462] [171]

Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large cantaras made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /wápo/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish. 323 [178] [126] [273] juice called guarapo in Spanish. 000

Basketry. Fans, baskets, and pouches, are made in the same style and technique as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:183-250). 285 439 There is a market for the fans which are used for fanning the embers in the firebox when preparing a meal. [372] They are often sold in the coastal towns of San Lorenzo and Esmeraldas as well as in the highland town of Ibarra. The money received for these fans is the property of the woman who made the fans, even though they were sold by her husband. [434 562]

Weapons. The blowgun has disappeared from general use. 411 Only a few specimens are left. All hunting today is done with the escopeta or muzzle-loading shotgun. [224] Serving both as a tool and as a weapon is the machete or /múšte/, and both men and women are quite adept in its use. [412]

Housing.

> Probably the cultural feature of the Pacific lowlands which most quickly attracts the eye of the outsider is the type of house used by the rural Negroid population. This is the square or rectangular pile dwelling with four-shed hipped roof of thatch, a peculiar roof crown, and palm-lath floor 342 171

> and walls. Building materials consist entirely of wood and leaves gathered from the adjacent forest. This type of pile dwelling is one of the diagnostic traits of the Pacific lowland culture area; its distribution extends from western Darien southward to the Santiago River system in Esmeraldas, where it has been introduced by Colombian immigrants. Like most of the present material traits of the lowland Negroid people, their houses appear to be a modified form of an Indian prototype (West 1957:114).

Such structures are a major feature of the cultural landscape of the Cayapas River system as well, but the Indian houses are in marked contrast to the Negro domiciles. The Cayapa houses are nearly always rectangular in ground plan and always larger. Cayapa houses range from approximately ninety feet in length by forty feet in width to perhaps somewhat more than half this size. The piles which are adzed into a square shape are always made of Guayacan, a heavy, black hardwood that is said to resist the inroads of termites for about twenty years. Eight to ten of these posts are placed on the posts six to ten feet above the ground. Bamboo stringers are laid through notches but in the Guayacan posts, and they serve as a foundation for the planwood flooring that is laid down at right angles to the bamboo stringers. Sometimes a split level construction

is favored. In these cases, it is always the rear of 342
the house that is raised about four or five inches. [171]
The rear of the house is the cooking area, and it is [354]
here that the firebox is located. A common size for
the firebox is four feet by five feet and it is packed
with earth to a depth of four to six inches. Three
rocks form a pot holder within which a fire is contained.
There will generally be one such rock hearth for each [592]
related family resident in the house. Behind the [514]
kitchen area a bamboo ramp about three feet wide and
twenty feet long serves the boys and men as a urinal;
a hole about three feet out from the house serves the
girls, women and infants.

The gabled roof is pitched at about a forty-five
degree angle and is framed by long single lengths of
bamboo. The thatch consists of the long leaves of the [824]
Tagua palm which may reach a length of fourteen to
sixteen feet. From the midrib of the leaf, a series
of leaflets extend out for approximately three feet.
Two or three months before roofing, the leaves are cut
down and collected in the Tagua patch and placed on a
low bamboo rack for drying. Sometimes the Tagua patch
is a considerable distance behind the house, in which

342 [501] case the leaves are brought to the site by hand. Many times the leaves have to be freighted on the river; for these occasions two canoes are joined by heavy bamboo poles, thus forming a raft, and the leaves are piled on top to a height of four to five feet. Two men then pilot the raft, one from the rear and one from the front. When the site is reached, the raft is tied to a paddle which is thrust into the bank, and the leaves are handed up a human chain composed of five to ten people extending from the raft to the actual house site. [476]

In contrast to the Negro houses Cayapa houses mostly lack walls. Because of this, Cayapa home life is much more open to Negro inspection than is the reverse. In regard to construction, the Cayapa never use wood planking. Negroes, on the other hand, regard wooden planking for the floors and walls as a sign of wealth and try to have at least some planking. The underside of the house for both Negroes and Indians serves as a storage area for the canoes. [504]

342 When they are off in the bush for several days hunting, or when roughing out a canoe, the Cayapa build

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term 342
ranchos. In general construction these *ranchos* are
similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only
a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings 361
of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent 591
houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences [429]
as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a
house in the area already, then a new house need not be
built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible
for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but
rather to shift back and forth between relatives who
happen to live near their property. This, however, is
a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded,
I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete"person [885]
"*un hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master
of his own house. Pedrito Añapa, for example, was liv- [754]
ing with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered
from many illnesses, and in addition his land was
"spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt
that the best thing for him to do was to get some land
elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation 241
171

of the Cayapa and the Negroes of the area. The extreme humidity of the region, coupled with the saturated, heavy clay soil that predominates, precludes slash and burn cultivation. The Cayapa region is just on the very southern edge of the area marked by a peculiar diagnostic trait: 241 [171] [182]

> . . . slash-mulch cultivation, of probable Indian origin, has evolved. Seeds are broadcast and rhizomes and cuttings are planted in an uncleared plot; then the bush is cut; decay of cut vegetable matter is rapid, forming a thick mulch through which the sprouts from the seeds and cuttings appear within a week or ten days (West 1957, 129).

The main food crops are maize /[illegible]/, plantain /[illegible]/, sugar cane /[illegible]/, sweet manioc /[illegible]/, *Rascadera* (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*), a taro-like aroid tuber called /[illegible]/, squash /[illegible]/, pineapple /[illegible]/, beans /[illegible]/, and bananas /[illegible]/. The latter were universally considered to be starvation food, and prior to the recent world market demand for them, were fed to the pigs. There are many fruits such as papaya /[illegible]/, oranges /[illegible]/, lemons /[illegible]/, *zapote* /[illegible]/, guabo /[illegible]/, *chirimoya* (*A. cherimola*). Some sweet potatoes are grown, but they are scarce due to the depredations of 241 262 [439] [281]

pigs who find them especially delectable. The Cayapa 241
seldom plant coconuts, but the Negroes do so whenever [262]
possible. Important palms are the tagua and the chonta- [171]
duro. The tagua nut was formerly an extremely important 824
economic product: its hard seed was in constant demand 439
on the world market for the manufacture of shirt buttons.
With the rapid development of the plastics industry
some thirty years ago, the market for tagua seeds com-
pletely collapsed. The Cayapa still talk nostalgically [453]
of the days when money did apparently grow on trees.
Though its export value has declined, the tagua palm, [262]
nevertheless, is still important to the internal econ-
omy: the leaves are used extensively for roof thatching,
the nut is a minor item in the diet, and when the tree
dies, the /[illegible]/, a delectable and very oily grub can
be dug out of the trunk. Both men and women may work 241
in the gardens. Generally speaking, however, the men 462
clear the garden and the women plant the seeds or roots.
Men and women may harvest the crops.

The staff of life for the inhabitants of the 262
Pacific Lowland Culture Area is the plantain which is 252
found in many varieties. It may be eaten green or

ripe, but most often it is boiled green and then pound- 262
ed on a mortar. Bits of meat and/or fish may be added 252
to the pulp. In this form it is called bala by both
Negroes and Cayapa. In the ripe form, it may be boiled
and treated as bala, or it may be eaten raw. Children
eat enormous amounts of ripe plantain, and they never
seem to become satiated. Important adjuncts to the 439
subsistence pattern are the traveling merchants who 262
bring canoe-loads of dried fish, clams, bread, cookies,
sugar, and candy as well as smuggled Colombian cloth
and clothing, up from the coast.

Hunting is a very important activity, and most 224
Cayapa men spend one or two days a week tracking game. [461]
The main animals are large rodents called guanta
/[illegible]/, a smaller rodent called guatin /[illegible]/,
peccary /[illegible]/, jaguar /[illegible]/, puma /[illegible]/, monkey
/[illegible]/, squirrel /[illegible]/, and the armadillo /[illegible]/.
Large birds are shot whenever possible and include tou- [223]
cans /[illegible]/, the wild turkey /[illegible]/, and a hawk
/[illegible]/. At the present time, hunting is done almost [411]
entirely with muzzle-loading shotguns. Hunting is gen-
erally a small operation involving no more than three

men, and occasionally only one shotgun is available 224
to share among them.

Fishing is an important adjunct to the dietary 226
pattern. Fish are dynamited, netted, speared, trapped, [262
drugged, and hooked. Often a man or boy will work his canoe up-stream and then drift slowly down while he plays his hook and line which are tied to a light pole.
The fisherman baits his hook with a lively grasshopper, [825]
drops his line into the water, then holds his arm motionless except for a slight movement of his wrist which causes the line to move with a sinusoidal motion. This favorite method can only be used when the river is very low. At these times, in the evening, three men or boys go out in a canoe moving slowly along the bank. One man
paddles, another holds a flashlight or a pressure lantern, [416
and the third man stands ready with a fish spear. The [373]
light attracts multitudes of fish, and the haul is invariably a huge one. Lobster can also be easily trapped
when the river is low. A lobster trap, called catanga [824]
is baited with plantain. It is set under water alongside a bank that has some protuberance, such as a pile of driftwood. The mouth of the trap is placed so it faces

down stream because the lobsters tend to move against the current. The lobster easily enters the mouth which consists of a conical chamber made of pointed bamboo. When the lobster enters the bait chamber, it is prevented from leaving by the pointed ends of the small section of the cone. The trap is tied to a long pole. Traps are set at intervals along the river, and they are visited every morning. There are no restrictions as to site location, but once a trap is set, no one else sets one next to it.. 226

While the Cayapa derive most of their subsistence from hunting, gathering, fishing, and planting, they are also engaged in commercial planting of bananas and as the market expands the Cayapa are becoming more and more peasant like. 245 433

Tribal Peasants

Wolf in his discussion of "Types of Latin American Peasantry" marks off two main categories, the corporate peasant community characteristic of the highlands and the open peasant community that characterises the tropical lowland areas. 621 433

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> The distinctive characteristic of the corporate peasant community is that it represents a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relations to both outsiders and insiders. It has structural identity over time. Seen from the outside, the community as a whole carries on a series of activities and upholds certain "collective representations." Seen from within, it defines the rights and duties of its members and prescribes large segments of their behavior (Wolf 1955:456). . .
>
> The open community differs from the corporate peasant community in a number of ways . . . The open community comprises a number of subcultures of which the peasantry is only one, . . . (it) emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands (Wolf 1955:462). . .
>
> The open community lends itself to rapid shifts in production because it is possible to mobilize the peasant and to orient him rapidly toward the expanding market. Land is usually owned privately. Decisions for change can be made by individual families. Property can be mortgaged, or pawned in return for capital. The community qua community cannot interfere in such change. (Wolf 1955:463).

Wolf of course did not intend these classifications to be an either-or device, and degrees of commitment to one or another community organization are to be expected. In terms of economic involvements with the money economy, the Cayapa display many of the features of the open peasant community; they own their land individually and may alienate it individually. Decisions are made by individual families and the community cannot interfere [423] [432] except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Camerones have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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[illegible]

000

the Negroes,

they cut more land for banana production, but unlike 62
Negroes they always maintained a large reserve for subsistence 436
agriculture. They are in the money economy [245]
but not yet of it. The Cayapa are not a completely open
peasant community. Movement into the Cayapa cultural
community is limited to born Cayapa and boundary maintenance
is structured in terms of language and culture.
A true picture, however, must view the Negro and Indian
sectors as parts of a larger unit. The national [646]
government views the Cayapa as a corporate body with
certain rights which do not pertain to the open peasant
Negro communities in the area. The Cayapa are held by [423]
the government to be the owners of the land (which is
ill-defined and not surveyed) and all outsiders must
purchase land from them. This tends to emphasize the
commercial character of the open peasant communities and
we may be perhaps justified in calling them banana farmers.
They must invest capital in farm land to increase
production. The Cayapa need not do so. If the Cayapa [425]
requires more land, he may buy it to be sure, but he
can also cut it out of the forest. However, as yet he
tends not to increase his production at the behest of

the market, and he maintains a rough balance between subsistence and commercial farming. In the pages to follow we will view a tribal people through their law, attempting to redefine human relationships that are being restructured by new economic conditions.

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[182]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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[P. 34]

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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[124].

Kinship. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1909 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1909. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1809 to three in 1909 and four by 1960! We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

[619]
[631]
[578]

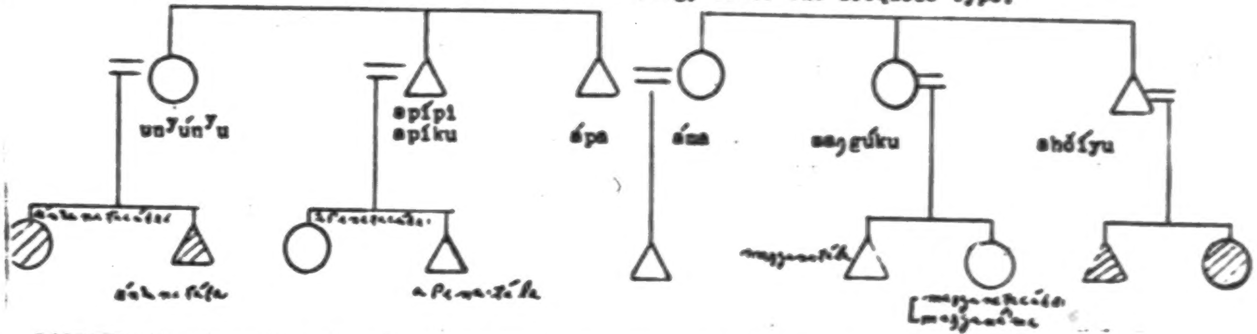
> It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family. . . . and in kinship terminology (Murdock 1949:202).

Murdock analyzed Barrett's kinship data and concluded that the Cayapa possess a bi-Eskimo system and that there is an incipient transition toward normal Hawaiian reflected in alternative niece and cousin terms. (Murdock 1949:228 table 61). My own data reveal an Iroquois type cousin terminology as defined by Murdock (Murdock 1949:223): Barrett records /maŋgúku/ (written phonemically by the writer) for both the father's sister and the mother's sister. My own data show /maŋgúku/ to be restricted to the mother's sister, while the term /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ is used for the father's sister. Similarly, in Barrett's material the father's brother is equated with the mother's brother under three alternative terms: /apíku/, /apípi/, /yapípi/, whereas we recorded these terms only for the father's brother, while the mother's brother is called /ahčíyu/. The terms, /un^{y}ún^{y}u/ 'father's sister' and /ahčíyu/ are discussed by Barrett:

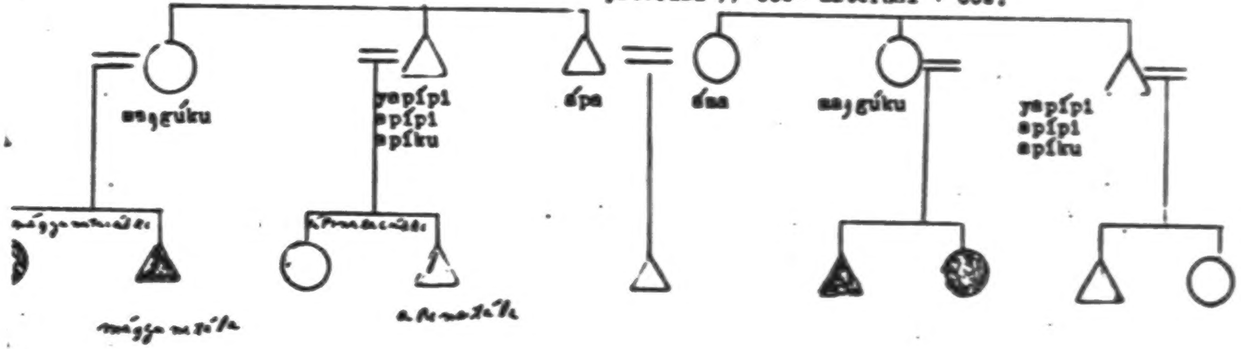
> From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16). 601 178

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in
1909 had become systematic by 1960! Barrett also re- [605]
corded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin
with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins
are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished.
Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ančápa/ whereas this 601
writer recorded it as /aápa/. Barrett also used the
term, /ančápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed
with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not
recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /anča?tála/ as a
reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would
appear that the best translation for /anč-/ is 'in-law,'
and /-tála/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's re-
cording of 'grandfather' as /ančápa/ is an anomoly when
compared to/aápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /ápa/
'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is [581]
to have children, and these children make the respective
in-laws grandparents

ALTSCHULER: Distinction between paternal and maternal aunt and uncle terminology and cross-cousins are equated. Cousin terminology is of the Iroquois type.


un^yún^yu
apípi
apíku
ápa
áma
maŋgúku
ahóíyu

BARRETT: Merging of aunt and uncle terms and paternal + cos = maternal // cos.
paternal // cos= maternal + cos.


maŋgúku
yapípi
apípi
apíku
ápa
áma
maŋgúku
yapípi
apípi
apíku

in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /ančápa/is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.' 601

Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1. 611 591 582 114

> B2. Minimal Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
>
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
>
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett; the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /búlutála/. Maximino Mendoza Añapa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Maximino refused, saying that she is /lála búlutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The 612 582 relationship is very distant and the family concerned thought that it would be alright-in fact much to be preferred to her marrying a 'cousin.' Many Cayapa feel, as does Maximino, that there should be a maximum bilateral extension of the incest taboo to the kindred; however, we will present legal material that indicates the beginnings of a narrowing of the incest range. Certainly, Maximino's family were willing to narrow the range. 612 582

Kinship nomenclature. 601

Father	/ápa/
Mother	/áma/
Grandfather	/aápa/
Grandmother	/aáma/
Father's brother	/apípi/, /apíku/
Mother's brother	/ahčíyu/ m.s., /uhpúyu/ w.s.
Father's brother's son	/apiná.tala/ m.s. /pandeká^{i}ya/ w.s. /apinataká^{i}ya/ w.s.
Father's brother's daughter	/apiná.tacúhki/, pandecúhki/
Mother's brother's son	/unYuna.tála/
Mother's brother's daughter	/unYúnYu/, /unYuná.tacúhki/
Father's sister	/unYúnYu/ m.s. /unYuná?ma/ w.s.
Mother's sister	/maŋgúku/
Father's sister's son	/un^{Y}uná.tala/
Father's sister's daughter	/unYuna.tacúhki/, /n^{Y}án^{Y}a/ (elder)
Mother's sister's son	/maŋguná.tala/
Mother's sister's daughter	/maŋgu?náma/, /maŋgunatacúhki/ /n^{Y}án^{Y}a/ (elder) /ka^{i}lYa/ (younger)
Brother	/ná.tala/ m.s. /ukúku/ w.s.
Elder brother	/un^{Y}áku/
Younger brother	/béna/

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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Brother's son /apínʸa/ m.s /unʸúna/ w.s.
Brother's son's son /apínʸapánʸa
Sister /cúhki/
Sister's son /ahčínʸa/ m.s., /maŋgú?na/ w.s.
Sister's daughter /upuná?ma/
Son /na/
Daughter /náma/
Grandchild /pánʸa/
Husband /rúku/
Wife /šínbu/
Father-in-law /ančápa/
Mother-in-law /ančáma/
Son-in-law /kía/
Daughter-in-law /súya/
Wife's brother /nʸámi/
Sister's husband /nʸámi/ m.s. /unʸúnʸurúku/ w.s.
Wife's sister /máŋgu/, /unʸúnʸu/
Father's sister's daughter's son /apiná.tala/
Mother's brother's wife /unʸuná.tasúya/
Husband's sister's son /unʸuná.taapíku/
Husband's mother's sister's husband /nʸámi/ (doubtful)
Wife's sister's son's wife /máŋgu/
Wife's brother's son /nʸamí?na/
Father's brother's daughter /nʸaminá?ma/
Father's brother's da. da. husband /nʸámi/
Wife's mo. fa. br. son /nʸámi/
Father's br. da. da. /pánde cúhki/
Mother's fa. br. son /pánde ká^{1}ya/
Father's fa. br. dz. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Mother's fa. br. so. son /lúca?bulu pánde/
Father's fa. br. daughter /pánde cúhki/
Father's br. so. son (w.s.) /lúca?bulutála/, /pánde ká^{1}ya/
Mother's mo. br. son /apiná.tala/
Daughter's husband's father /anča?tála/
Mother's sister's husband (m.s.) /mučáču/, /unʸúnʸurúku/(w.s.)
Wife's sister's son /mučá?na/
Wife's sister's husband /nʸaŋdála/
Wife's brother's wife /cuhkihútu/
Father's sister's husband /mučácu/
Father's fa. br. so. son /apiná.tapánʸa/
Father's father's brother /áapiku/
Father's si. so. wife /únʸuna.tasúya/
Husband's mo. br. son /pánde apápi/
Father's si. so. son /únʸuna.tapánʸa/

601

Father's si. so. da. /uhpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacũhki/

842

Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

843 [262] [152]

The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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[769]

844 123 about twelve years earlier. Off to one side in a small cubicle, a minor commotion was in progress. I walked over and saw a group of women standing around a woman who was seated with her back to me. When I asked what was happening, I was met with a burst of laughter and giggles. Men who were approached grinned and said that it "was an affair of the women." Perhaps an hour later, I returned to the cubicle and watched the seated woman grasp and twist a piece of cloth that had been suspended from one of the rafters. An old crone was serving as the mid-wife. The actual birth took place during one of my periodic absences to watch the festivities which were going on unabated. A few curious children and some women were the only by-standers.

844 [759] [887] [462] Elderly women are generally the mid-wives, but there are a few men who ply the trade on occasion. The mid-wife knows enough to manipulate the unborn child to a good birth position, which is done by massaging and kneading on the abdomen. Most births are normal and fairly easy. 845 763 It is said that if the child is born with its arms akimbo, then the mother will die.

If the mother should die first, then no attempt is 845
made to remove the child. Births that result in death [754]
are said to have been caused by witchcraft. Insofar as
I was able to determine, no counter measures are taken
for revenge.

When labor pains begin, the woman is given a 844
hot drink of rum, lemon, and sulfur. Some women claim [278]
to have had painless births, and others claim it hurt
each time. After the delivery the mid-wife cuts the [412]
umbilical cord /pesíl^{y}i/ with a metal knife. The mid- 846
wife buries the umbilical cord under the house about
two hours following the birth. It is said that if [776]
the cord should be thrown away, then a malignant
spirit would get it, and turn it into an animal that
kills people. Also, if the cord were not properly
buried, then the mother might die of hemorrhage.

After the delivery the mother remains at home
for two months. She does light tasks about the house,
but she does not go to work in the fields. She ob-
serves some food taboos during this period such as [262]
being forbidden to eat crabs, clams, or meat. If the [784]
taboo is broken, it is believed that she will lose her

blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. 846
The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth 853
and is permitted to drink the colostrum /ľapi/: /ľa-/
'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month,
the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on demand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for example, if the infant is being held at the time he wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the child should be crying while his mother is engaged in some task that requires standing or the use of both hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is busy in another part of the room, the infant is likewise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may 846
do some light work in the monte. The infant is never [854]
taken along when the mother goes to work outside; instead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older
female relative. The child is fed bolada which is 853
prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, [262]
and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may
give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed 862
for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the 862
child is also told that an animal will come to eat
him if he continues to suck which frightens him and
hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From 859
about the age of four months he is given supplementary
foods and by the age of three years he eats everything.
Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their
breasts. This poultice is made of *lechero*, a weed with [298]
a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimu-
lating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their 862
infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they 177
chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing.
This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women
now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may 846
be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel 789
that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead [859]
mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant [761]
can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where 775
earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the
time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two
men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the
infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following 846
this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the [919]
care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is [859]
paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually,
when the child can speak, he is returned to his
father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, 847
according to all informants, and this information is 848
very likely reliable because bastards /ñãch-/ are
first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similar- 842
ly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth
control devices nor of the practice of *coitus inter-
ruptus*. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the 169
area whose children line up like stepping-stones, 842
there is often a two- to four-year break between living
children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference [165]
is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in
other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in
still other cases the lower sex drive may be the caus-
ative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in
the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any [775]
event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the 163
world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it 842
would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary [775]
for many infants to die. The population figures do
indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing.
For the Río Cayapas there is an average of 2.5
living children for each woman of childbearing age and
almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the 597
kindred, if the parents should die, but there is sel- 848
dom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate [612]
children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate [847]
child's being kept by the mother, but more often she
will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child [783]
for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a
child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian,
and few people want such a child. The Christian thing
to do, they feel, is to kill it.

There is something in the nature of short-term 597
"loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live 591
with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying 428
periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

> had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. Not a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

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Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example; that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in postural stance) that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house has a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

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children, after about the age of six, defecate in the river or in the monte behind the house. As soon as an infant is able to sit, he is placed over the women's and girl's urination hole to defecate. He is not permitted to return to the comfort of the house until he has done so. The weather may be somewhat inclement, it may be dark, the child may howl and scream, he may decide to withhold his feces in defiance of parental command, but no leniency is shown. He must sit out on the causeway, alone, miserable, afraid or defiant, and only after he defecates, is he removed and brought into the house where he may be rewarded with the breast. By the time the child is two years old, he is trained, or perhaps, a better word, broken. Understandably, most Cayapa show an extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces. One day four young boys, ranging in age from about ten to fourteen, came to visit just as my infant son defecated. The boys stopped in their tracks and one, pointing to the mess on the floor, shouted, "/pe/" 'feces,' whereupon they fled.

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If no new sibling has arrived, the Cayapa infant is permitted to nurse at the breast for about three years.

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[The Negroes, however, wean their children after one year, and some Cayapa women are beginning to imitate them.] 862 Weaning is accomplished by shaming or ridiculing the child, or frightening him with stories of cannibalistic ogres, or applying bitter tasting substances to the nipple. [776]

The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked by what appears to be incipient rickets, 146 855 rotted teeth and skin diseases that arise from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. This stems in major part from the fact that the child is generally kept within the confines of the home at these ages. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. [342] [361] [136] If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. Consequently his movements within the house are restricted and he is effectively blocked off from direct sunlight and on canoe trips he is usually placed under a canopy. [262] While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary; some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

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had never been teased in this manner before, and his eyes flashed pure hatred for the woman as he leaned forward, glaring at her. All laughter ceased; everyone gazed fascinatedly at the child. Shortly, the woman offered the candy again, and as it was taken, she jerked her arm back violently as if it had been burned. Clearly, a Cayapa child would never react in this manner; he would have remained passive. The group broke up shortly after this; the event doubtlessly became the subject of much conversation. Frank remained extremely popular with both Indians and Negroes, and passersby on the river before our house would call out his name. When the writer visited, I was asked to bring him along, and, he was never teased again.

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By the age of three years, children are clothed in miniature replicas of their parents' clothing. Genital shame is marked by the age of five or six years. Bathing men and boys convulsively grasp their genitals as they enter the water; on the other hand, women and girls merely wade into the water and remove their skirts when they are waist deep in the river. Bathing is frequent, and swimming is considered to be a great sport by the children.

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by the children. 000

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Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camerones at Encanto which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. [591] Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. [855] This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular.

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Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. [868] [855] Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

child being cared for can walk, it may be dragged along 857 855
by one hand at a much too rapid pace, and it drags rather than runs behind. If the parents should see this the older girl is reprimanded and occasionally slapped.

Adolescence. There are no special rites marking 883
a boy's entrance into puberty. At adolescence the boy [881]
is not considered to be ready to assume the responsibility
of adulthood. His training is much more protracted
than that of the girls. For example, he must [868]
attain skill in canoe workmanship, and this may not be
fully achieved until late teen age. He may be given a [594]
piece of land of his own to work, but even so, he must
help his parents in their work, on demand. The criteria [581]
used to determine a boy's readiness for marriage are
the following: he must be skillful in cutting his own
canoe; he must acquire sufficient land to support a
family; he should own a shotgun. The young man himself
is often reluctant to assume new responsibilities despite
the expectations of his adult associates. This
will be discussed in detail in the chapter dealing with
Sex, Courtship, and Marriage.

Sex, Courtship, and Marriage. 000

Just as there are no special rites marking a boy's entrance into puberty, there are similarly none for a girl. When the menstrual periods begin, the girl is not alarmed since she has heard the women speak of this phenomenon and therefore knows what to expect. Girls are "ashamed" to tell anyone when the menstrual discharge /suása/ /su/ 'vagina', 'asa/ 'blood,' first appears. In fact, no one likes to talk about it at all, but there are no taboos concerning it. The menstrual discharge is not considered dangerous in any way, and the women may eat anything, bathe in the river, work in the gardens, and engage in sexual intercourse. The women claim that they experience no cramping, nor other discomfort during catomenia. 881 841

Household. Relations within the family tend to be amiable and affectionate. Husband and wife may joke with each other and with the children. The children are taught to respect their parents and other relatives, but no special behavior is expected for different kinds of relatives. It is expected however, that siblings will form an especially intense bond and brother-sister 593 [867] ties are often very tender. On one occasion while the writer was treating a man for a fever his married sister came in and knelt beside him. She put her mouth close to his ear and whispered to him while she gently stroked his back. It is said that brothers should work together on all things, that they should inherit and work land together. 593 [123

Parent-child relationships are affectionate and close. Both parents play with their children and indulge them. Often children were brought in to the writer for an injection of penicillin. In these cases if the child cried and stated emphatically that he did not want it, the parents would not insist. Generally boy and girl children are treated much the same in play behavior with the parents and other siblings with one exception. Boy children, up to about the third or fourth year, are often held up at arms-length above the head of the older person who then lowers the child slowly. When the child is within reach, the older person then places his mouth over the child's genitals for a few seconds. This game is never played with girl children. 855 [593 [123

While husband and wife relationships tend to be affectionate, the woman is often in a near dominant 593 594 562

position. She generally controls the finances and is 594
consulted before any major purchase is made. If a large [593]
sale is made--for example, that of a canoe--she is [562]
on hand to count the money. During *fiestas* she doles
out the money to her husband for rum purchases. It is
not at all unusual to see a man, already quite drunk,
whine, wheedle, threaten, curse, and coax his wife for
a few coins. He usually gets it, but ever so begrudgingly.
A man and his wife work the fields together [462]
and she is adept in the use of a machete. They seem [24]
to be in agreement on most things that involve the
house and their children. When a child is punished he
never seeks aid and comfort from the other parent.
Children were never seen playing one parent off against
the other. It is doubtful whether this would ever
occur to a child. Similarly, parents do not use their
children as foils for their own individual advantages.

If grandparents are residing in the home, they 596.
are treated with respect by their children and grand- 603
children. The grandchildren often call them 'father' 592
and 'mother.' Unless they are bedridden, the grandparents
do a full share of work, and they continue working until

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the last. The grandmother will often remain behind taking care of the young children while the parents are out working. She may punish the children either by admonition or by slapping them. Generally, there seems to be more roughhouse behavior among the children of the household when the grandparent(s) are present than when are just the parents.

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When the in-laws and/or other relatives are resident in the house the same atmosphere tends to prevail. Each nuclear family occupies a section of the house. Sometimes a cubicle is built for sleeping and storing purposes. Meals are prepared separately and consumed individually. No one eats together as a group. The men are served first. One may be in a hammock, another seated on a bench, yet another may be standing off by himself at the front of the house watching the river. They eat where they are. The women and children eat after the men have eaten. They tend to form more of a group because of the proximity of the cooking area and they converse more together while they are eating than the men do.

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Newcomers to the household group such as a new son or daughter-in-law, tend to be shy and quiet. In time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

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Benjamin Paul, working on *compadrazgo* in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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> In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, *compadrazgo* is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, *compadrazgo* will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change *compadre* mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

[illegible]

Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by *compadrazgo* (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326). We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive children in the same family--are they the same or different? Between 1909 and 1960 the population pattern of the Cayapa area has altered radically, and the socio-economic changes have been even more marked. If Mintz and Wolf are correct, we should expect to find as a result of rapid change, a multiplicity of *compadres*, and as the Negroes and the Cayapa form two classes, if not castes, we should expect a vertical extension of *compadrazgo* ties to include Negroes. The evidence presented by Barrett indicates that they were tribally homogeneous in his time, and *compadrazgo* was apparently horizontal. Despite the fact that there is no data to support me, I feel that the horizontal extension of ritual kinship during the time of Professor Barrett's study among the Cayapa was primarily, if not entirely, to reinforce previously existing kinship ties. At the present time, the Cayapa do indeed follow the pattern predicted by Mintz and Wolf, but the socio-economic causative factors are not as clear-cut as these authors believe them to be; still, they may be discerned in the Cayapa data and we can see the beginnings of a class structured society reflected in some of the legal decisions that deal with polygyny.

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

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The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbetápa/ and /kumbetáma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

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Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the /uñi/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his *compadre*. The manner of relationship is as follows:

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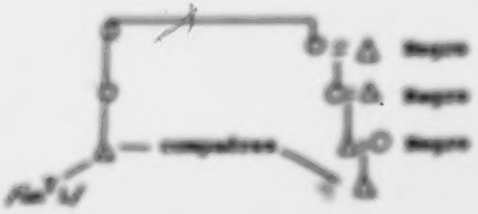

The /uñi/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and *compadre* who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of *Limones* at the mouth of the *Río Cayapas*. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /uñi/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, Maria Agrecaria. The /uñi/ gave his new *compadre* gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontaduro. Since then, the /uñi/ had visited his *compadre* about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a *compadre* so that, for example, the /čuʔi/'s daughter, Maria Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /čuʔi/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in *Río Ónzole* area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the *Río Cayapas* to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /čuʔi/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of *compadres* extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nail-cutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek *compadrazgo* are usually related

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distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the *compadres* and not between the sponsor and the child. 608 852

Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as *compadres* of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the *Río Camarones* region and not on the *Punta Venado* group as a whole. 608 851 [101]

For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to *Limones*. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs ten *sucres* which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the *compadres*, although [797] [431]

the father may buy a meal and some drinks for every- 608
one. The *compadres* now address each other by the same 851
terms used between *compadres* in the nail-cutting cere-
mony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father
by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the
term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/
[padena, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother'
ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, [582]
are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of
the children of the god-parents. The relationship is
marked by respect from all within it. From time to
time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to [431]
the *compadrazgo* of the baptism gift each other with
meat. Within a family each child will usually have a
different set of god-parents from his siblings. This
is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties
with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual
kin.

Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes 608
to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Every- 775
one is the same height, and they all wear identical 585
clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the _padrinos_ and not between _compadres_. [612] The marriage _padrinos_ tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select _padrinos_ from within the kindred. _Padrinos_ are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his _padrino_, then his wife automatically becomes his _madrina_. [582] If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

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Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new _padrinos_ for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage _compadrazgo_ could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage *padrinos*. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original *padrinos* gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage *padrinos*. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, *compadrazgo* among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering. 608 585 178

Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of *Limones* or *Esmeraldas* for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased. 795 771 [851] [585] [769] will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased. 558

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at *Sapallito*, 346
each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed [619]
in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. [631]
The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The
roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a
clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full
length of the church on both sides between the upper and
lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before 778
it, in the *Punta Venado* Church, is a large crucifix 764
with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are [766]
buried inside the church behind the altar, because they [783]
are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in
consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the cere-
monial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside [766]
of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the [346]
projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always
buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs,
and he inherits his membership from his father. He may
attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must
be buried where he belongs.

The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognise this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognise that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it—people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

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Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

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The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

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At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ún^{y}i/ began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before 796
he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. 794
They all worked separately and at a considerable distance [622]
from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the
church, and still others made small repairs to the
houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were 361
in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to under- 342
take the effort required to make really good repairs.
The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas,
and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily en- 796
gaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were 788
fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the
fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession.
A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms
at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a
straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa.
Some men and women held candles in their hands, some
men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to
eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the
saints. They walked around the church three times, and
then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they 796
sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the 177

Negroes present for Church services, because they like 796
to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against [177]
the/únʸi/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers [622]
to the *fiesta*.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of
varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared
for the church activities. This meant that they [292]
put on their newest clothing, and young children were [301]
dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn
by women, they often had row upon row of beads and
bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around 796
ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began 988
drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside
with their whips, and as people approached, they
struck them several times across the buttocks. Some
went into the church, where the chief stood in front
of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows.
Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of
the officials went into each of the houses looking for
stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped
themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a [177]
few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was 796
some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, 788
but it was restrained. As the official went about 177
looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone
has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely
was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very
early period.

In general, the description of a *fiesta* given 796
by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The [536]
passion play described by Barrett was no longer being [178]
performed. In its place a group of *fiesteros* set up a 796
marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a 534
small rancho between the church and the main house of
the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they
played with such gusto that sometime between one and
two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently [622]
with all of these activities, the chief dispensed [692]
justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, [273]
Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were [584]
engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up,
and the band played on. This continued for six days
and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no 796
nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, 794
seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas *fiesta*, and [788]
they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and *guarapo*,
and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the
fiesteros during the evening following the church services
on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may
run to over five hundred *sucres*. While it is said to
be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts
the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared sev- 273
eral days before Christmas and mixed with water. This 796
drink, called champu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve contain- [788]
ers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes [622]
the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around
and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the 796
Christmas *fiesta*, the chief wandered around for hours 794
arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy 622
or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas
fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during 796
which he said that they were all evil people and that 794
his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas _fiesta_, 622
and that he would help him finance it. This was later
done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in [439]
Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very
difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor
several _fiestas_ in the past because no one else would.
By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more [867]
control over the _fiesta_ and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding _fiesta_ responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their [782]
gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by [788]
the Chief. The main business of the _fiesta_ is now 796
undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of 273
alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering 692
disputes are argued and brought to the chief for 622
settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single [578]
men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors [584]
against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, 771
but religion is always manifest as a group, rather 795

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

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The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, Churches, and _fiesta_ activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

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Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is _duende_; he lives at the headwaters of

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the Río Camerones in the monte. People are afraid of 776 186
him, because he can kill a person by catching his
spirit. Duendé is the owner of all of the wild pigs, [825]
as well as the /buhúl^{y}a/, a race of cave dwellers who
are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second,
/s^{y}ubéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical
instruments at the same time. Some think that he just
touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked,
and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis
with which he kills women when he makes love to them.
These beings are not really a part of the religious
belief system, but other spirits are.

The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: 775
/tembúka/ 'heart,' /kíma/ 'soul' and /ašía cút^{y}u ũmu/ [774]
'bald ghost.' At death, the /tembúka/ leaves the body
by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who
has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear,
but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the
soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed
regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in
terms of a big fiesta. The /kíma/ leaves the body at
death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. 775
The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and
remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight
with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen."
The /kíma/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it 774
has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of
travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls
visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends,
and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger [754]
of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kíma/ is prevented
from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the 775
Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a 848
chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; 789
however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then 847
they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-
Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian
thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of
the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of 775
the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, 851
the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an 177
instance, the wife of Pablo Canalaho of [illegible], died [845]

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in childbirth, and the infant was born dead. No one discussed the condition of the infant's soul at all, until a group of Negroes came to express their condolences. They remarked among themselves that the infant was probably in purgatory because it had not been baptized. They spoke in this vein for about ten minutes until Doña Carolina, who is half Cayapa and married to the founder of the village of [illegible], noticed that the Indians were becoming disturbed at the trend that the conversation was taking, and she said that of course, since the child was only recently dead, it perhaps was not too late, and she took some water from a gourd and sprinkled it on the tiny body. There was a brief flurry of conversation among the Negroes, and the remark was made that "very likely the infant was in heaven now." At this, the Indians visibly relaxed.

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Funeral customs. Death is not a stranger to the Cayapa, and everyone can reasonably expect to attend at least two or three funerals during a year. The greatest number of deaths are of infants. In other age groups there are violent deaths such as men drowning, breaking their necks in falls, and being poisoned by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /šbkuygële/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD4 Cayapa SD4

the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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125 764 [763] came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Milton where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, my . . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife—landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of anti-venom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. [756] People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective *brujos*. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snake-bite curing. 843 [849] Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. [587] When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

764 Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

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about five or six o'clock. Prior to the velorio, or wake, the people who are not in mourning /pamilia/ bathe and don their make-up and fancy clothing. During this procedure the children race about noisily. While waiting for the proper time to make their entrance, people like to remain in large groups "because the spirit of the deceased is wandering about and may kill anyone who is alone."

In the meantime at the funeral site, a raft has been built to transport the remains to the ceremonial center, and musical instruments have been placed together off at one side of the house. The coffin has been placed near one of the sides of the house, and candles are placed at the head and foot. If the deceased was a man, his oar is broken and placed in the coffin with him. The mouth of the corpse is carefully covered with a piece of colored cloth, and the eyes are closed. Members of the family mourn at the head of the coffin, either singly or in pairs. They mourn in a stereotyped manner, chanting in Cayapa appropriate phrases like "Who will support the family now?" "Who will bring home the food?" "I am all alone

one." "Who will take care of the children now that 764
my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts [273]
for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace
the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and,
above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard
by the people who are waiting up and down the river,
they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The [534]
women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the
room while the men congregate near the drums and
marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments [273]
while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone.
The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes
animated as this goes on, and all this while the
mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be [524]
played by the men and boys, and this is the only time [526]
that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa.
There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at
funerals although they may not all be pursued at any
one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúši/ 'plantain 524
money,' however, is always included. A description of
this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut
into slices which are said to be money /luši/, and one

piece is cut in a rectangular form like a domino, and three holes are made on each side. The one who cut the "coins" is said to be the owner of the domino which is called /lúši yá?ma/. The boys and young men who are playing this game sit in a circle face to back. The "coins" are piled up on the floor in the middle of the group. The owner of the domino passes to the one sitting next to him on either the front or to the rear. The chip is passed around full circle and then the owner passes it around in the opposite direction. This is done about five times, and then it is passed down one man at a time. With each pass the passer picks up a "coin" and if he wishes to "cheat," he may pick up more than one. Cheating of this kind is the source of good-natured joshing and shoving. When all of the "coins" are gone, the players count up their winnings, and then everyone puts his pile of plantain slices back into the center of the circle, and the whole process is repeated. This is most definitely not a contest of skill or strategy, but they seem to enjoy it, and it is repeated for an indefinite period. The only difference noted is that, as the game continues,

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúši/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

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Another activity often indulged in is called /úliŋgayéči kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kánu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second contestant places the cloth on the neck of the next player in line, and as he does so, he shouts "/čána."

/čiwalʸitu/ from Spanish 'little goat' is a very popular sport. The players form a large circle by linking hands while one man stands in the center of the circle. The circle moves first in one direction then in the other while the players chant in unison "/čiwalʸitula/" with a rising falsetto at the penultimate vowel. At this, the man in the middle places his hands over his head and beats the palms of his hands together while shouting the same response as the participants in the circle. The man then in the center sings out in a high voice the exclamation /é¹/" which is protracted for a few seconds. After this he rejoins the circle, and a replacement steps forward.

In the game of /wagára kénu/ 'playing cow' two men are placed in the center of a circle formed by locking arms. As the circle moves, those in the center attempt to break out by rushing head-long at the joined hands in the circle. As they break out, they join the circle and are replaced in their turn.

Another diversion is called /kúbeču mi¹nu/ or

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'getting yucca.' A group of men and boys seat themselves in a line. Then four men come and choose one of the players who will be the yucca. This yucca is picked up bodily with one man holding each extremity, and he is then offered for "sale." He is "sold" for /pánda lõši/.[§] After the purchase the yucca remains beside his buyer for a few minutes after which the "money" is placed in the coffin. After this gesture the "owner" of the dead sets up a round of drinks for the players.

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/eyalámu/ 'fishing' is still another entertainment that involves the use of /pánda lõši/. One man tosses out a "line" made of a small piece of cloth among a group of seated "fish." Every now and then one bites and is hauled in and "killed" with a piece of wood. The fish is then weighed by being hefted bodily and is then sold for plantain money.

Another pastime is known as /ũupipi/ 'chicken' and is very rough. A man or boy pretends to be a chicken hawk and attempts to steal a "chicken." The "hens" try to prevent this, and few holds are barred.

There is also a diversion called /etuháea hámu/

[§] [i.e. "plantain money". - ANALYST]

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'no gloss' in which a double circle is formed with one man in the center. To form the double circle, one man stations himself directly behind another and places his hands on his partner's shoulders. All couples are paired in this manner; in addition, there is a group of three players who form part of the double circle, with the third man being "it." The man in the center has a whip made of a piece of twisted cloth with which he strikes the third man. Upon being struck this man moves over to the next set and assumes the first position in the line-up. The whip bearer then strikes the newly created "third man," and this process is repeated until the whip bearer is tired, and then someone else replaces him.

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Arm wrestling and throwing an opponent over one's back are great favorites. In these events men of forty may vie with youths of thirteen. Girls and women do not participate in any of these games and sports, but are appreciative spectators. They are all exquisitely dressed and consciously trying to attract the young men. None of the games involve skill or the use of strategy; they cannot even be considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin. 764 [526] [524]

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." [775] Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants; it is the time of the /mulúta kénu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué muluta oye llegue muluta talat^{y}umbi íšhwánde." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. [191] Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there any, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery. [273]

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery 000

Adults and children are buried in a cemetary area called the panteón, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /ʌnʔi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion. 764 766 778 [619] [631]

Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft. 753 [774] [754]

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of witchcraft. Barrett records that very little attention is given to wounds *per se* beyond the application of hot beeswax or a leaf to keep off the insects; however, a few individuals have specialized in the setting of broken bones. Apparently, this specialty is not taught, but a person who wants to engage in this activity practices by removing the corn kernels from a dry ear of corn and then replaces them in their sockets under cover of the husks. This is said to develop finger dexterity and the sense of touch. With growing competence the neophyte bonesetter practices mending the limbs of domestic animals, and eventually, the first human patient requests his services. Clean fractures seem to be rather easily handled, and it is said that "green-twig" fractures are similarly mended. The price for this service is high, ranging from 500 *sucres* to over 1,000 *sucres*.

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For illnesses caused by spirit possession or spirit loss, a *brujo* or witch is needed. There are no special requirements for becoming a *brujo* beyond the desire and money to pay for instruction. As the prophet is seldom honored in his own country, so the Cayapa

maintain that the best witches are not Cayapa at all 756
but rather the Cholo of Colombia and the Colorado of 554
Ecuador. Next in order of preference are the highland [186]
Indians around Ibarra, and, finally, those Cayapa
who have been instructed from the masters listed in
descending order of preference. Those Cayapa who have
been instructed by other Cayapa enjoy very little
esteem. There is said to be a good deal of jealousy [578]
between witches, and in popular belief they are said
to seek opportunities to kill off their rivals.

The Cayapa theory of spirit possession is that 787
if one is wandering in the *monte*, a spirit may spy one 753
and fall in love with one. The spirit then embraces
the victim and enters his body. Spirits or inimical
objects may be implanted in the body by witchcraft as [754]
well. When someone falls ill and lingers in illness
for a time, the charge is made that an enemy is at work.
The task of the *brujo* is simply to rid the body of the [755]
object or spirit that is causing the illness.

The witches' paraphernalia consists of archaeological 172
artifacts that were made by the people resi- 755
dent in the area prior to the Cayapa occupation. A 756

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone ones are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /čhala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of [illegible] sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, paced by the words "moreno . . . indio bravo . . . enfermedad . . . brujo . . . . ," that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the indio bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

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On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "duncecap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;" at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/úra, úra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

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At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the patient, who appeared to be wracked by malaria, declared that my power had helped him considerably. This comment was accepted with perfect equanimity by the two brujos who nodded and agreed that I did have big hands. 129 755

There appears to be no conflict between the Cayapa theory of disease and modern medical practices. On several occasions, Malía, an active brujo, would come to me for medications to give his patients. The feeling was that the White man's medicine taken together with the native remedy could not be beaten; however, quite commonly, western medication is sought only as a last resort. 755 757 177 [123]

Almost everyone has a modicum of curing knowledge, but one would never dare to utter incantations that summon spirits, unless he has paid a teacher for knowledge. An unauthorized person who called the spirits would be killed by them. Most people will at one time or another attempt to effect a cure. A brief illustration of some of these points can be seen in the following events recorded during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959. 755 756

[Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado]

It was one thirty in the afternoon on Friday, when a very sick child was brought to the /ũmʸi/ to be cured. Gabriel, was quite drunk, but he took the child and blew on the top of its head. He then passed the child to a Negress, who did the same thing, and then tossed the child up into the air. The /ũmʸi/ then took the child and blew on its head again. The parents of the child stood by crying, as it was obvious that the child was in mortal danger. Some other Indians began taking turns blowing at the child's head, and one began to suck out at the nostrils, while another massaged the child's hands. The Negress suggested using some chocolate, but this advice was ignored. I offered some sulfa pills, but the father refused them. The /kapitán/ then began rubbing a commercial menthol ointment around the child's face, neck and chest. While he was doing this, the /ũmʸi/ slumped down in a corner of the room and passed out drunk. The Negress kept urging the /kapitán/ to rub some of the ointment on the child's back, and he did so. Then the mother took the child, and offered it the breast, which was refused.

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The child was gasping very hard. At this point, the father took off his western styled shirt, and put on a yellow Cayapa shirt. As he was doing this a young man took hold of the child's right wrist, and began blowing on the fingers, while another began to briefly blow on the child's head.

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Eventually, the number of people working on the child dwindled to three men, including the /kapitán/, who are said to be brujos . . . they removed the child to an abandoned house site, and they sat on a log discussing what to do. Each brujo, as he drank from a bottle of rum, stated that he would use a very important and strong incantation; and then with a long look at the others, added, "and I am not afraid either." One began to whistle and chant, and another began sucking at the child's mouth, while the third kept complaining that I was too

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ugly to bear, and that I must leave before he began his cure, but the other two assured him that I was a "good gringo." By this point, the three *brujos* were quite drunk, and unable to function. The father took the child back to the main house, where it died early the following morning.

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It is felt that *brujos* can kill as well as cure, but except for one instance, excessive sorcery was never attributed to Cayapa *brujos*. The father of [illegible] of *Zapallo* was a *brujo* who was killed because "he killed too many people." This was the only instance recorded and it was apparently done on an individual basis and not through the legal apparatus.

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Government. The Spanish governmental nomenclature can be found with varying degrees of completeness in each of the four tribal sections. The list as noted by Barrett included the following: "Gobernador, secretario de la gobernación, teniente político, alcalde, comisário, capitán, sargento." (Barrett 1925:312). In 1960, the terms alcalde, comisário, and teniente político were apparently no longer in use, and no one knew of any individual who occupied any of these offices.

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Today, as in 1909, there are apparently three

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main classes of officials. First, there is the /uñi/ or *gobernador*; second, there is the /bima uñi/ or *gobernador suplente*; and third, there are those officials called /čaʔtala/. This term may derive from /čaʔči/ "people" and /-tala/ "together," that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called *capitán* or /ténda/, the latter from *teniente*, and the secretarios, seem to be /čaʔtala/ and are listed on the official rolls in the provincial capital of *Esmeraldas*. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čaʔtala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /uñi/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the *fiestas*.

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The /uñi/ "chief" of each of the tribal sections

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The /únʸi/ chief of each of the tribal sections is the acknowledged leader of the section; however the national government of Ecuador has inscribed the chief of the Punta Venado section as governor of all the Cayapa. The Indians of the other three groups say that while this governor is indeed superior to the others, he can in no way interfere in their internal affairs nor give orders to them. This is quite different from the situation reported by Barrett where in 1909 the chief of Punta Venado was in effective control of all of the other groups, allowing their chiefs to handle only minor matters (Barrett: personal communication). Office is inherited in the patrilineal line.

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The /kása únʸi/ may become the chief upon the death of the /únʸi/ provided the eldest son of the /únʸi/ is not old enough, or perhaps does not want the job. In these instances the brothers of the late governor may be considered. All of the offices mentioned pass within the male line as a rule, but they may pass out of the line if no one wants the job or if no one within the line is capable of handling it. Regardless of title, the duties of the officials are the same: they are expected to maintain order at the various festive occasions, and they are expected to adjudicate disputes among the Cayapa.

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disputes among the Cayapa. In disputes between an Indian and a Negro, however, a Cayapa official is usually asked by the Indian to speak in his behalf before the Negro teniente político in the town of San José or before the White comisario in the town of Limones. Patently unjust decisions rendered by the teniente político may be appealed to the comisario and ultimately to the national government by the /ʔuñi/. In this, the Cayapa enjoy an advantage over the Negroes. The common feeling in Ecuador seems to be that in any encounter between an Indian and a Negro, the Indian is the innocent victim. While this is indeed true much of the time, the Cayapa threaten to go to the top even when they are clearly in the wrong, and the Negroes are naturally resentful of this.

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The Cayapa are self-governing, although they are loosely bound by national laws covering land sale, theft, and murder. Periodically attempts are made by the local Negro officials to usurp the authority of the /ʔuñi/ by demanding funds for one or another purpose. In 1960, the people of the Negro village of Camarones began to agitate for recognition of the village as the center of

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the parish. This honor belonged to the town of San José, but as national elections were near, it was felt that the proper time had come to make a bold attempt to have Camarones declared the leading village. The Presidente of Camarones visited with several Cayapa officials who lived up the Río Camarones, and he demanded fifty sucres from each adult male Indian. He said that this was needed to bribe the higher officials if Camarones were to take the place of San José. There were four or five days of rumor-mongering, mostly concerning the avarice of the people of Camarones, and then consensus was reached. Gabriel Añapa, the [illegible], told the writer that he would have paid five sucres but that fifty was too much. Neither the Indians nor the citizens of Camarones contributed to the Presidente. As a result, San José continued to be the parish head, although a new teniente político was to replace the old one who had backed the losing party in the elections.

Attempts to encroach on Cayapa governmental affairs may be seen in embryonic form in some of the school activities. For example, the school has been in operation for six or seven years. There has been a

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succession of teachers with varying degrees of compe- tence. In 1960 the school teacher, who was a native [593]
of Esmeraldas, began giving the Indian pupils drama lessons. The plays offered always involved Cayapa going [692] [179]
to Negroes for advice. Generally, the plots involved marital bickering within the Cayapa families which were then solved by the Negro official. These scenes are always greeted with laughter by the assembled Cayapa who come to watch their children perform. No one would even dream of taking a family quarrel to a Negro official. It is interesting to note however, that one 177
Negro is making some progress toward involving himself 692
in Cayapa affairs. This Negro's name is Pindalaña, and he presents a rather grotesque appearance. His [164]
nose has been entirely destroyed by the ravages of yaws, and his hands are twisted into the shape of talons. This man has the distinction of being the only Negro who speaks Cayapa. Since he lives very near the ceremonial center of Punta Venado, he has been hired by the [358]
ñaʔu to keep the church clean. Pindalaña attends every fiesta and becomes actively interested in most of the legal cases. On several occasions he publically

announced that he knew more of the law than did Gabriel. 177
The Cayapa plainly do not know how to deal with Pinda- 692
lenas. Some Cayapa say that he has absolutely no right
to interfere in the legal disputes. Similarly, Gabriel
points out that the Negro is merely his employee and
nothing more, but a few Cayapa think that perhaps he
can take part in the adjudicating of disputes. They
are not very certain, but if Pindaleñas acts as if he
can, then perhaps he can. On occasion he has asked [535]
Cayapa women to dance with him at the *fiesta* in the
Cayapa manner, but he has always been refused. No
other Negro has ever attempted to dance with a Cayapa
woman. In the disputes witnessed by the writer at
which Pindaleñas was present, he seemed to restrict
himself to echoing the judgments reached by the Cayapa
officials.

Such governmental activities as exist for the 623
Cayapa will be amply illustrated in terms of their 643
law. In point of fact, Cayapa law can be said to be 665
the major part of Cayapa government. Political behavior 156
for the Cayapa is intimately related to governmental 671
instability which is largely the result of interregnum 642

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over 622
into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is 643
a great difference between the people's perception of 665
authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel 156
is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who [671]
drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to func- [642]
tion as a chief should. At this point political be- [733]
havior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level,
individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with
Gabriel as the newly installed /ún^{y}i/ and threatening
to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him re-
placed. The youngest son of the late /ún^{y}i/ was voic-
ing complaints that by rights he should have been the
/ún^{y}i/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked
contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to
emanate from the lower reaches of the *Río Cayapas*, more
especially from the region of *Pichiyaco*, the home of
the late /ún^{y}i/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel [733]
could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform
his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he
was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near [796]
for the Christmas *fiesta* at *Punta Venado*, many people [692]

began saying that they would attend the *fiesta* at 622
one of the other tribal sections rather than attend 649
one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said 665
that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to 156
settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, [796]
they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel [692]
was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior
of the people in these instances was political
because there was a shifting of support from one
authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of
support was ideologically motivated in terms of values
concerning the nature of the chieftainship (cf Easton [733]
1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was
to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one [123]
or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene,
quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice.
He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible
for my being there and that they would all benefit
by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever
I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations [733]
extended over many months. [796]

The personal crisis for Gabriel seems to have

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been met during the Christmas *fiesta*. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ún^{y}i/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other *fiesteros* including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ún^{y}i/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /kavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ún^{y}i/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a *brujo* from *Zapallo Grande*, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the *fiesta* wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /ʔuⁿi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /ʔuⁿi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /ʔuⁿi/.

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After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the other Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ʔuʔñi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ʔuʔñi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of very heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inexorable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel begins to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction; as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayapa governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

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Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Punta Venado group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /un^{y}i/ he should be in charge of all Cayapa affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayapa sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

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Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

personal direction during a situation of crisis and 622 643
was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 156
rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that [787]
the end of the world was going to take place soon.
These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched
for by one of the priests at the town of Limones.
This priest had been forecasting such an event for
some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the [772]
world in his arms and when the sins of the people [783]
pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until
at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus
lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen 622
very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of 643
God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of 156
August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned 782
that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other 796
sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to
discuss the impending disaster and the means by which
to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta
at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to
give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted
four young children to be married "as they did in the

old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Zapallo. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Zapallo when needed.

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It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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and never by way of organized groups. There were no political groups, just individuals who occasionally voiced dissatisfaction.

John Embree in his comparison between Thai and Japanese social systems wrote in terms of close and loose structures:

> Loosely integrated here signifying a culture in which considerable variation of individual behavior is sanctioned (Embree 1950:182) . . . Where social structure is "close"--that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations . . . it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out (Embree 1950:182).

Cayapa social organization is, in these terms, loosely integrated, and Cayapa behavior is marked by individuality but not by individualism. That is, there is no ethic of individualism, rugged or otherwise, held as an ideal, but rather the sociological concomitants of a bi-laterally structured kinship system, lacking corporate kin groupings, coupled with the lack of permanent action groups of any kind, usually preclude social involvements on other than an individual basis. A possible exception to this may be

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found in the household consisting of several related nuclear families, but even here, the group is contingent upon circumstances, variable in personnel and unstable in duration. Members of the household are in constant movement, tending their far flung farm plots, visiting kinfolk, traveling to the cities, and visiting curers.

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The lack of corporate involvements for the Cayapa effectively restricts political behavior to periods of turbulence and uncertainty such as occurred after the death of the late Gov. Aurelio Pianchiche, and the installation of his nephew, Gabriel Añapa, as the new governor. It may be, that whenever the office passes out of the direct line from father to son, political disturbances develop which may be exacerbated by personality factors. This seems to have been the case with Gabriel whose involvement in political events will be discussed shortly.

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In terms of being a loosely structured society, the Cayapa differ from the Thai as discussed by Embree in an important manner.

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> In Siamese society it is relatively easy to achieve a *fait accompli* by doing something not approved by other members of the group. But in so doing one does not necessarily achieve the acceptance of the others. The "accomplished fact" does not accomplish much (Embree 1950: [illegible]).

It is precisely on this point that the Cayapa offer a dramatic contrast. The strong-minded deviant in Cayapa society can, by his determination, make his accomplished fact a model for emulation and ultimate acceptance by the members of his society. Cayapa society is structurally unable, in the normal course of events, to permit the development of concerted and protracted pressure on an individual deviant. The only approach to this occurred when Gabriel assumed his position as [illegible]. Gabriel was not a man who commanded respect from either the Negroes or the Indians. He did not speak Spanish well, he drank to excess and was unable to perform his duties, he was not well versed in the law, and he was a poor man. For the Cayapa, the [illegible] should be a man of infinite wisdom, who is well spoken both in Cayapa and in Spanish, a man who can stand up to the Negroes for the Cayapa.

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a man who can govern justly with a minimum of friction. People may be born in this mold and others may change aspects of their personality and perceptions through the performance of required role behavior in new status positions. This latter situation is being structured by the Cayapa in terms of a unique kind of political behavior.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965

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[P.123]

CHAPTER III

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

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Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a [illegible] or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available. 584

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

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> means or another and endeavours to persuade her to leave the house with him for a time. According to others, he cautiously enters the house and passes a part of the night with her under her own mosquito canopy . . . These visits are repeated for some time, when the young couple announce their desire to marry and obtain the consent of their respective parents (Barrett 1925:101).

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In 1959-60, in the Cayapa area generally, and particularly in the Punta Venado region, the custom of remaining sitting in silence was apparently no longer in vogue, except during the actual wedding celebration, when the groom does indeed sit off to one side in silence. However, the technique of nightly visitation is still a culturally approved method, but only one of several. [585]

Stealing a Woman. Some men prefer to "steal a woman" for wife. This is called /sígu tayyatkímu/, /sígu/ "woman" and /kímu/ "to steal." Lorenzo Martín, commonly called /guilandá/, "a kind of crested bird" [a nick name he detested], preferred this approach to marriage. According to him, he met his first wife while canoeing along the river. They were both alone, and after some minutes of conversation, he proposed

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo [chigua], a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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and she agreed. Now, with a new wife, neither he nor his mother-in-law wanted to live under the same roof. Feelings of anger and/or disapproval on the part of parents and kin of the dead spouse to the remarriage of the surviving spouse are not uncommon among the Cayapa. There is some feeling that the death may have been caused by the survivor. 587 [578] [761]

An interesting point emerges that is part of a general Cayapa theme: Lorenzo waited about five years before remarrying, and apparently the motivation lay not so much in his sexual needs, as in his appetite for food. His mother-in-law was not preparing his meals properly. It should be kept in mind that, by Cayapa standards, a man who is capable of /[illegible] tayyahimu/.[1] who can actually walk up to a woman and propose to her, is deserving of envy, awe, and admiration. This means that such a man is unusually forward and aggressive. Many, if not most, Cayapa men are very hesitant and uncertain about sex and marriage. While chastity is not particularly valued, men in their twenties who claim to have had no sexual intercourse are not uncommon. Women, on the other hand, lose their virginity much 589 831 831 [836] [584] earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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[1] [Lit. "to speak a woman" - ANALYST]

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Zapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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It was sponsored by Bartolito Añapa of the Rio Cayapas who is a member of the Zapallo Grande section. The marriage was for one of his sons. During the festivities it was noticed that Ciro Añapa, a young man in his twenties, was very drunk and he seemed to be having a difficult time with Tristinio Salazar who is one of the policia of the Punta Venado section. Tristinio was also very drunk. From time to time, Ciro would break out in tears and loud sobs while Tristinio spoke to him. After a while, Ciro pushed Tristinio away from him and went to another part of the room where he continued to cry and sob for a long time. All that had happened was that Tristinio had told Ciro that he had a girl waiting whom he could have in marriage. Ciro kept protesting that he was too young and that he wanted to finish the fourth grade at the school in Zapallo. The sequence of events leading to this lachrymose scene began with the girl's father having spoken to an official of the Zapallo Grande section, who in turn had spoken to Tristinio. 584 796

Sometimes the father of a marriageable girl will ask an official to deliver her to a specific man 584 them to families as a son-in-law. As an instance, Gerardo Pardomo of *Zapallo* asked the late /[illegible]/, Arcilio, to deliver his daughter to Camilio Añapa during an Easter *fiesta* at *Punta Venado*. Camilio was most reluctant when approached by Arcilio. He said that he was too young in the first place, and in the second place, he did not want to get married anyway. The /[illegible]/ pointed out that all of Camilio's siblings had died unmarried and that he could too. At this point Camilio agreed to marry Gerardo's daughter. 584

Occasionally a man's kinfolk will decide that he has been too long a bachelor or a widower. When someone hears of an available woman in any of the Cayapa sections, one or two men go to speak to the woman's family. If the parents agree to let their daughter marry the man under discussion, she leaves at once with the match-makers, taking only her clothing and ornaments. They then bring the woman to the home of the unsuspecting groom-to-be. The man may refuse the proffered one; in this case, the man who brought her will try to deliver her to someone else. If she fails again to be accepted, they will return her to her family 584 [602] [578] she will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the men talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes— "very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present their case to the family, and if refused, they then point out that two Negroes are waiting in the canoe. This means that the commission will fight, if need be, to get the girl. [For the Cayapa, the Negro is a threatening figure, both in fact and in fancy.] At this point, agreement may be reached between the commission and the girl's family, or a fight may develop. In either event, as far as is known to the writer, a commission always gets its woman.

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Problems in Courtship and Marriage. Many men among the Cayapa are reluctant to take the initiative in romantic affairs, but from time to time one finds among them men like Chapico of the Rio [illegible], who seems to delight in amorous peccadillos and adventures. Chapico has the reputation of [illegible] married women with whom it is said he would make love, while the husband slept only inches away on the same bedding. He pretended to be the husband and apparently deceived the women with a large measure of success for a time.

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Chapico caught in flagrante delicto. One night while pretending to be Pablo Añapa, Chapico was caught

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by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat 156
both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Cha- 684x
piro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's [694]
house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenso [692]
Martín is one of the officials or /čá tala/ of the [624]
community. As an official, he was empowered to settle
disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to
obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for
Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenso brought Cha- [695]
piro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged
him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his de-
fense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenso [696]
ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-
nine-tails, but Beverico who is Chapiro's father's
brother's son ["just cousin"] claimed that the punish-
ment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced
to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenso. Fol- [273]
lowing the punishment, everyone got drunk except Cha-
piro, who left right after the whipping.

In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in [692]
the person of Lorenso, the father of the seduced woman,
and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

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of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Basurco's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichcala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Basurco 1894:406).

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In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

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The Seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

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in love with Gabriel's daughter, but she was in love with someone else. One dark night, Chapiro sneaked into the house and made love to the girl by pretending to be her lover. Later, they stole out of the house to go to his home. When the girl saw that the house was Chapiro's, she realized that she had been tricked, but she spent the night with him anyway. The next day, while he was doing some work outside, she returned to her home. Her father was very angry. Gabriel, together with his son and his /máŋgo ná.tela/, Camilio Pianchichi, and Domingo Cimarrón went to Chapiro's house. They told him to come to Gabriel's house, but he refused to do so. Camilio took Chapiro's pressure lantern for no reason except that it was valuable, and they all left. Chapiro finally went to Gabriel's house. Gabriel was drunk and he roughly ordered Chapiro into the house. Furious words passed between them, and Chapiro said that if he were punished, he would take Gabriel's daughter again. At this three men grabbed him and took him outside where he was given sixty lashes. After the punishment, everyone began drinking, but the still-angry Chapiro left early.

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The pressure lantern remained in Gabriel's house. About two weeks later when the lantern had not been returned to him, Chapiro went looking for it at night in Gabriel's house, but he couldn't find it. He kept asking for the lantern, and eventually, after two or three months, it was returned to him.

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The lack of interest on the part of the young woman, coupled with Chapiro's poor reputation, apparently led Gabriel to make it clear to Chapiro that he did not want him as a son-in-law. A year or two later, the /unʸi/, Arcilio, died and Gabriel became the chief. Gabriel now began to consider Chapiro's threat to his daughter, who was now married. He ordered Lorenzo Añapa and Aurelio Añapa, two of the /čaʔtala/, to go up to _Zapallo Grande_ during Christmas and to bring back a wife for Chapiro. They found a woman who was lame and not very eagerly sought after as a marriage partner, inasmuch as she could not work effectively in the _monte_. They brought her to Chapiro's house and presented her to him. He refused to take her, but Lorenzo said that if he did not take the girl, he would beat him. Chapiro then agreed to

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marry her. In 1960 he seemed happy with his wife, especially since she gave birth to a boy, and since his marriage he apparently has stayed close to home. 156 514 627

It may be that the choice of a crippled wife for Chapiro was deliberate and with malice aforethought. Chapiro's reputation, however, extended beyond the sexual sphere, and he was known to be lazy [581] and a poor worker. Most women would have refused him as a husband anyway. What is important, however, is the fact that the solution worked, and that Chapiro was effectively removed from circulation. It should be mentioned for the record that when he was queried about Chapiro's wife, Lorenzo Añapa reported, with what appeared to the writer to be no small measure of satisfaction, "She can't work very well in the fields because of her bad leg."

For the Cayapa, marriages are not all made in heaven, and many times legal difficulties both attend and follow a marriage. The parents of Chapiro's bride did not object to her marriage at all; however, as women are economically useful, some families that lack one or another of the parents attempt to keep the 584 [594]

girl at home as long as possible. This may lead to 584
disputes and hard feelings. 594

Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a mar- 584
riage commission over the protests of her mother. The 684x
late chief, Arcilio, had a sister's daughter named
Carmelina who was crippled in one leg. She lived
with her mother and younger brother, near *Playa Grande*.
One night a commission of two Negroes and two Indians
came to take the girl to Alipio Cimarrón who also
lived near *Playa Grande*. First, the two Indians came
into the house leaving the two Negroes in the canoe.
They spoke with the mother, but she did not want the
girl to get married "as she was badly crippled." The
two Indians pointed out that they had two Negroes with
them, but the mother was adamant. The Indians then [177]
called in the Negroes who were named José Isidro and
Añano Vallejo, both of *Playa Grande*. The four men came
into the house and removed the girl by force. She fell
outside of the house and began to cry, but they picked
her up and placed her in the canoe, still crying. All
the while, the mother kept shouting at the men, but
the girl's brother remained silent, as he had been

during the whole affair. The commission then took 584
the girl to Alipio's house which was not too distant. 684x
After a few days, Alipio and Carmelina hid in a small
shelter or *rancho* up a small stream. Meanwhile, the [694]
mother went to see her brother, the chief, to advise
him of the event. After several days, he left with
some of his male relatives, looking for the couple.
They were found in Alipio's house. Arcilio punished [696]
both of them with ten lashes. Afterwards he brought
Carmelina back to her mother's house, but she protested
that she wanted to remain with Alipio. Alipio
claimed that he had not sent for Carmelina to be
brought to him because "she is crippled and not a
good worker." [On this point, the informant, Pedrito
Añapa, says that Alipio is not a good worker himself
and cannot make high-grade canoes.]

About a week later, Alipio's younger brother 583
'stole' Carmelina, and they went into hiding up an 684x
estuary, for some time. Everyone was looking for
them. Alipio eventually found them and brought them
to his house, whereupon they all became drunk. One
result of this drunkenness was an attack by Alipio

on his brother. A few days later, the /'un^{y}i/ found them and removed Carmelina to his house, and from there she was sent to a man from the Río Onzole. In the meantime, Carmelina's brother became enamored of Alipio's sister. He 'stole' her, and they hid for a week, but were caught by Alipio when they came out of the monte. He took his sister home, declaring that she still had a lot of work to do around the house, such as making fans for sale on the coast. The young man 'stole' her again, apparently keeping her for a considerable time, at least sufficient for it to become clear that the woman was now pregnant, and so they remained together. At Punta Venado, during one of the fiestas, the /'un^{y}i/ ordered them to be whipped twenty lashes.

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Carmelina was crippled, and yet she was eagerly sought after by two men, in marked contrast to Chapiro's crippled wife. The choice of marriage partners for both Alipio and Chapiro had been considerably restricted, due to their poor work habits. Alipio's brother posed something of a problem. It is not known that he was lazy also, but certainly the reputation of his

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brother did not give him any advantage. The reluctance of some families to part peacefully with their unmarried female members stems in part from economic factors. Even though Carmelina was crippled, she was still of great assistance to her mother. Similarly, Alipio hoped to realize some profit from his sister's handiwork before permitting her to marry. As Carmelina's mother did not object to her daughter's marriage to the man from the *Rio Grande*, it can be assumed that he was more desirable as a son-in-law than either Alipio or his brother. She probably realized that she would not be able to prevent her daughter from leaving home much longer since the girl had made it clear, after her brief sojourn with Alipio, that she wanted a man--any man.

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The marriage commission as a device for arranging marriages is apparently very common although it is not always eufunctional. Quite often more problems are raised than are settled by the commission's attempt at match-making as witnessed in the following case.

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Romulo appeals to a white official. Romulo lived with his wife and children, as well as with a dependent woman relative named Inez Cimarrón; this relative had been divorced by her husband because all of their children had died soon after birth. She had gone to live with Romulo and his wife immediately after the divorce. Some time later, a commission composed of two Negroes named Nicola Ayovi and Aurelio Corozo, and an Indian named Dámian Largo, came up from Playa Grande at the request of Anastasio Largo, a "cousin" of Dámian. Anastasio was a widower [and so could only marry a widow or a divorcee], and he specifically asked the commission to bring Inez for him. The members of the commission had been given a few gallons of rum for this favor. Romulo, however, refused to give the woman up, claiming that he needed her to watch the house and children when he and his wife were out working, since they had no other relatives. The Negroes replied that they would use force if need be. At this, Romulo went for his machete, but, as he was ill at the time, he could not fight effectively. The woman was removed, crying, from the

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house and brought to Averticio. The next day, the *Teniente Político*, a national official of *Borbón*, came down the river from *Telembí*. He was hailed by Romulo who explained the happening to him. They both then went up to *Playa Grande* where a party was in progress in Averticio's house. The official took the woman back and fined the two Negroes sixty *sucres* each, but Damian Largo was not fined. Averticio pointed out to the official that he had sent the commission in good faith and had not asked for the use of force. Inez also made it clear that she did not want to marry Averticio because he was too old.

Of interest here is the fact that Romulo appealed to a non-Indian official who is not ordinarily approached by the Cayapa in matters of this kind. Doubtless, it was the fortuitous juxtaposition of circumstances that brought the *Teniente Político* into view while Romulo's anger was still at its height. The official's decision was not completely just. In the first place, he clearly favored the Indians over the Negroes and consequently he did not fine the Indian member of the commission. In the second place,

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Averticio lied when he said that he had not asked for the use of force by the commission. Mens rea marked Averticio's actions and he was an accessory before and after the fact. By requesting the two Negroes for the commission he gave tacit approval to the use of force. If Romulo had complained to an Indian official, the letter would have been unable to deal legally with the Negroes, and he would have restricted his investigation to Averticio and Dámian. When Negroes are involved, and feelings are running high among the aggrieved Cayapa, self-help may be resorted to, as the following case demonstrates.

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Perdomo fights for his sister. Perdomo lived with his wife, mother, and sister in a house up the Río Camarones. One night a commission composed of the usual two Indians and two Negroes came to the house. The two Indians spoke first. They had come to deliver Perdomo's sister to Manuel Largo of Playa Grande. Perdomo and his mother refused. [Manuel was said to be very ugly, thin, and weak.] Following this refusal, the two Negroes came in to take the girl forcibly. She began to cry whereupon Perdomo went for his machete

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and threatened the Negroes. One of them answered that he was willing to fight, and at this, Perdomo backed down. The commission then left with the girl. They brought her to Manuel Largo who hid with her in the house of José Mina, one of the Negro members of the commission.

Two days later Perdomo managed to gather together ten kinsmen and friends, and they all left in two canoes, taking the girl's mother along. A Negro told them where the girl was hidden, and they headed straight for José Mina' house. They argued a great deal with the two Negroes, but the commissioners claimed that everything was all right: "after all the girl was not marrying a relative." The argument waxed hotter, and finally machetes began to swing. This all took place in front of the house, while from within the house the girl could be heard crying and pleading for rescue. As the fighting began, the girl's mother began crying, telling the men not to fight, or they would kill each other. This had no effect. The Negro woman shouted that if they kept on fighting, they would all be fined. At this, tempers cooled, the fighting ceased, and the Indians returned home without the girl.

Indians returned home without the girl. Several days later, Manuel Largo took his reluctant bride up a small nearby stream to hide, since he feared a return of the girl's family. The girl apparently entertained no such hopes anymore, and when they had gone a short distance upstream, she told Manuel to go on up ahead and wait for her as she wanted to defecate. When he was gone from view, she ran through the *monte* and later that day she arrived at the house of Juanito Cimarrón of *Pichiyacu*. Even though Juanito was not related to her, he arranged for one of his sons to return her to her home; nothing more was ever done about this incident.

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If Manuel Largo was indeed small, thin, and ugly, then Perdomo's sister would view the arrangement with something less than enthusiasm. If Manuel was indeed weak, then the family in general would join the girl in her refusal. A man who is weak certainly would not be a very good provider for the wife, and, as a man is expected to help his in-laws when needed, he would not be of much use to them. The material presented so far indicates that a woman has a great deal to say as to whether or not she will marry and/or to whom. A

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determined woman will usually have her way, and many Cayapa women are determined! 580 [581] [582]

Earlier, in the case of Carmelina, we saw that the relatives of the /ñaʔki/ were not immune from being manhandled by a commission. In the following case we shall see an instance in which the very authority of the /ñaʔki/ was flouted.

__Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's home__. Several years ago Emilio wanted to send his sister to marry a man on the __Río Camarones__. The mother objected, saying that the girl was much too young. They all later went as guests to a __baile de casamiento__, that is, a wedding feast celebrated usually a year or two after a man and woman have been living together as man and wife. The late /ñaʔki/, Avelino, was asked by the prospective bridegroom's brother to deliver the girl, and this was done. The girl's mother said nothing at the time, but when she returned to the __Río Camarones__, she marched into the bridegroom's house and took her daughter home with her. The bridegroom's mother protested, but that was all. The elder brother 584 627 [585] of the would-be bridegroom notified [illegible]lio who, in turn, sent Gobernador [illegible] who is "family" to the bridegroom to demand that the girl be delivered. Ralía also communicated with his mother. Finally, she stated that as long as the girl seemed to be pregnant, she would agree to the marriage. 584 627

Not only did the mother flout the authority of the [illegible], it is very likely that if she had been strongly adamant, she would perhaps have been whipped, but she would have kept her daughter. The matter of marriage commissions is most intriguing. Clearly, this sort of match-making could not take place in a society in which there were strong corporate bodies, where family extensions were important. In a society as loosely structured as is the Cayapa, the marriage commissions could [illegible] the [illegible] with a minimum of interference.

Widows and Widowers. [illegible] states that widows and widowers never remarry among the Cayapa ([illegible]). My studies among the Cayapa fail completely to substantiate [illegible]'s statement. In point of fact, most widows and widowers remarry, the only 587 [114] [582] stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

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A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

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this incident and asked that his mother be punished. Both the young man and the widow however, suspected that they would be punished, and did not go down to the *fiesta*. The /ʔuʔi/ sent up a commission composed of one Indian and two Negroes who were ordered to apprehend them. Augustin paid the Negroes twenty *sucres* each and bought a few bottles of rum for the Cayapa. 587 588 684°

The couple were brought before Arcilio and punishment was set at ninety lashes each. In addition, the woman was fined fifteen *sucres* for burying the infant in *Punta Venado* and was advised by the /ʔuʔi/ to marry a widower. The young man claimed that the woman was to blame for the illicit relationship and that she was always after him and wanting to marry him. After the official punishment had been meted out, Augustin beat his mother. Several months later the youth ran away to the *Río Esmeraldas* area with this widow. They remained there for two years. After two or three children were born to them, they returned to the *Río Cayapas*. This couple was permitted to live together, but later the husband and all of the children died within a year. [147] 589 588

The Cayapa maintain that no supernatural sanctions 784 775

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were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

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When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ún^{y}i/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

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Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl. 586 [795] [562] [732] [842]

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny. [684]x [692]

Santiagueño Hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first 586 177 627

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wife did not like him, and after several years, she left, taking the children with her. Santiagueño was notified of the event by his brother while he was in the *monte*, working. He returned immediately and employed Joselino Caisero, the Negro *Inspectór* of the village of *Cameronas* to bring back his children. Joselino was paid one hundred *sucres* for his work. He located the woman near *Sapallo Grande* and removed the children. 586 The woman cried bitterly and said that she wanted to return to her husband, but Santiagueño did not want her. He claimed that she had had lovers during the months that she had been gone. She denied this, but to no avail. Santiagueño did not mind losing his wife this way, because she was a nag "*bravo y siempre charlando*." [587] She was later delivered to a man from the *Punta Venado* section. Santiagueño soon remarried, but the second wife died, and he then remarried a third time to the ex-wife of Antonio Blanco. Antonio had divorced his wife for [684]* being barren. "People said that it was not a nice thing to do, but no one demanded that he be punished."

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Clearly the attitudes toward divorce had modified considerably, especially since Barrett's recording of the following case:

A man refuses to go back to his wife after being punished.

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> The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman . . . both the offenders were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon . . . About 9 o'clock a gathering assembled in the room, the man was taken from the stocks, and several of the officials, including the chief, made short speeches concerning the pair and their crime . . . Finally the commission of officers who had been sent in the morning to bring the two for punishment was called forth and its leader gave a ritualistic invocation, after which the offending man was brought forward and made to stand before the stocks . . . The chief then administered fifteen strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails . . . The culprit was destined to receive a greater number of strokes, but owing to the chief's infirmity due to a recent gunshot wound, and to the fact that the culprit proposed to buy partial immunity with rum for the assemblage, he was given his liberty after receiving the punishment noted.
>
> The woman was then brought forward and received ten strokes . . . Her case, however, was different from that of the man, and she was not set at liberty. By living with the man she had signified her desire to marry, hence it was determined to find a husband for her . . . [the following is reported for the next day]. The same pair of culprits . . . were brought in, placed in the stocks, and later castigated. The

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> woman received twenty-five strokes . . . while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished (Barrett 1925:402-407).

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By sheer determination, the culprit placed himself in a position where the chief was unable to cope with him and, in effect, the man was "permitted" to desert his family. His determination had placed him _ultra_ _vires_ /literally, beyond the power/ _vis_ _à_ _vis_ the chief and the law. The chief had gone as far as he could with the man, and finally, he could do no more than lose his temper. Barrett records that the culprit later left with his paramour, after she had been delivered in marriage to another.

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

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In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

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Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

[784]

A case of double desertion and incest. 684x

> In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion and cohabitation with his first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished . . . The offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, . . . of the cat-o'nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes . . . The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins . . . (Barrett 1925:404-405).

At the present time there is a good deal of 684x
variation in the handling of incest; however, it is 694
of general concern, and anyone will report such activity that he or she has witnessed. In one instance, the parties to the affair were not even aware that they were related. Ignorance was not a valid excuse however, and both kin and non-kin hastened to make the facts public. Punishment was swift and applied equally to 684x
both parties. Punishment is not however, always equal. 696
In some instances the initiator of the affair is considered to have greater guilt and receives heavier

punishment, and in other cases, punishment may be reduced upon the request of family members. The balancing of relative guilt and the concern with family members for reducing the punishment are illustrated in the following two cases. 684x 696

Adultery between a woman and her son-in-law. Several years ago the mother of Huru Cimarron was whipped together with her son-in-law for making love. They were seen by her daughter. They were punished during the Easter fiesta with sixty lashes each. Next year, the same thing occurred and they were both given one hundred and ten lashes. The punishment took place in the morning. That afternoon, Huru fought with his brother-in-law, and he also hit his mother. When the /ún^{y}i/ scolded her she did not utter a word in her defense. The son-in-law claimed that she was the one who began the affair. When the sentence was to be announced, Huru shouted that his mother should not be punished as much as the man. On the other side, the family of the man pointed out that the woman was the one who started the affair and so she should receive more lashes than the man. It was decided to give them both the same amount. 684x 684x 696

The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /ún^{y}i/ she and the boy were not related.

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As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

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When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the *Río Camarones* was married to his /ápinatacúhki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a *fiesta* at *Punta Venado*. Camilio Blanco notified the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the *fiesta*, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from *Sapallo Grande* to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Huru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "*they are not very close relatives anyway*." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

[626]

Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, *ultra vires*, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his 684x
family will make the act known. There is one exception 198
reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo 835
Candalehu can get away with repeated incest. 588
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The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candal-
ehu had been committing incest with his sister, who
later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born [847]
infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies
were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. [692]
The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, re-
sulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a
year. After their release from jail, they came to En-
canto, where they continued living together. People
gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Río
Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found
a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's 684x
sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, 178
claiming that he did not feel any grief because the 835
woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He 694
then related at the funeral how once when he was out
fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly
with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

to his sister. 684^{x} 178 835 694

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959. 684^{x} 837 695

The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /ˈan^{y}i/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no 684^{x} 837 694 resistance. After a few minutes of severe mauling, a group of women took the aggressor off to one side and listened attentively, while she wailed and shook her fist at the other woman, who remained seated on the floor, alone. The /un^{y}i/ was in another part of the room seated on the floor, talking to a young man who was dressed in western clothing, and sporting high-lace boots without the laces. I asked Gabriel to explain what had just taken place, and he replied that nothing serious had happened at all. A woman had complained, he said, that the young fellow had molested her while he was drunk. This was a far-fetched version of what had actually happened as pieced together from the comments of the on-lookers.

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The young man was an official of the *Punta Venado* section. Some people said that he was the /tánda/ 'lieutenant,' and others said that he was the *capitán*. He, himself, said that he was the *capitán*. He lived up the *Río Onzole*, and his duties were to bring culprits to trial and to judge cases with the other officials. He was charged with committing adultery with his /apla^{y}a/ 'father's brother's daughter,' who lived in the same

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house as he. The fact that they were closely related was not brought up at all, and the adulterous relationship seems to have been uppermost in mind. His wife was the woman who had beat the adulteress. No one seems to have brought forth a specific charge; rather, the state of affairs seemed to have been known to all, and in fact, the adulterous pair knew that they would be punished during the _fiesta_. The [illegible] stated that they would both have to be punished, that the man should receive ten lashes and the woman fifty. The woman had obviously prepared for this as she was well wrapped in several layers of heavy ceremonial skirts. She was taken next door to the main dwelling where she assumed the position for receiving the blows by bending forward slightly at the waist. The blows were applied heavily by one of the officials in full view of all the interested by-standers. After her punishment the woman left and sat alone in one of the cubicles on the other side of the house, the area used for sleeping. She remained there alone all day long. Eventually the man was brought into the main dwelling. There was a good deal of joking and laughter among him and the other officials. He

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bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down.

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Later, several people, including the /ʔuñi/, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off."

[831]

Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused in reducing punishment in reducing punishment. 000

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindaleñas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

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The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

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cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

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The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas _fiesta_ at _Punta Venado_. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

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as though they were having the time of their lives, dashed out and returned very shortly, dragging a set of stocks that had been stored under the late [illegible], Arcilio's, house. Evidently the woman was going to be displayed as a horrible example! She kept up a running argument with the officials and denied the charge. Her husband backed her up, but to no avail. She was to be whipped fifty lashes. As the charge was completely unexpected, the woman had not prepared her ceremonial skirts and only wore a thin red rayon dress. With the first blow, she yelped in pain and turned to argue with the castigator. After a pause, another blow landed with the same results. After each blow, there were long intervals, probably out of consideration for the woman's pain. While the punishment was in progress, the castigator offered the culprit a bottle of rum from which to drink. However, a woman in the audience kept exhorting him to apply the lash heartily. In addition, she shook her fist at the rum drinking culprit, shouting that she had caught her with her husband in *flagrante delicto*. The malefactor's husband made a gesture of annoyance at the woman and told her to keep quiet. When she continued

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the harangue, the husband walked over to her and pushed her roughly away. The shouts, the curses, and the punishment continued for about an hour. The woman alternately drank from the rum bottle, rubbed her buttocks for a few seconds, assumed the appropriate position, and received the inevitable blow. Her husband kept urging lighter and fewer blows. Suddenly, the /čaʔl/, who had been sprawled in his hammock, drunk and seemingly oblivious to what was going on, leaped to his feet, livid with rage: he berated the castigator for taking so long. It was decided therefore, to reduce the number of lashes. By the time the punishment was completed, the woman was quite drunk and consequently feeling little pain. Unexpectedly, a man shouted from the audience that there was too much leniency and this evil doer should receive the full sentence. An 'uncle' of the woman quickly retorted that she had been punished sufficiently. The two men exchanged angry words and fought briefly. The woman's husband, who by now was quite drunk too, took his wife by the arm, and the two of them began cavorting around the room.

Given the facts as described, one wonders if the

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ún^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

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Polygyny. Max Heiman stated that "Die Dayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Veilweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heiman 1931:286). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygyny, it was certainly not true in 1960.

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To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

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Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Viche, was a brujo or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Viche and the father agreed. When they arrived at Viche, it appeared

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that the brother was much too young, whereupon Margarita agreed to marry Cristobal even though he was already married. They were subsequently married by a priest. Santian, Cristobal's brother, resented this and complained to the /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio. Margarita claimed that the charges were not true and that she had, indeed, been delivered to Santian and was living with him. Arcilio ordered Cristobal and Margarita to receive twenty lashes. The sentence was minimal because they claimed "never to have embraced." Then they were told that they would receive two hundred lashes if they made love from then on. When they returned to Viche from Punta Venado, Margarita lived with Santian for about four months; following this, Cristobal took her back. The brothers had harsh words but did not exchange blows. Cristobal's two wives appeared to live together amicably. About a year later the father of the first wife took his daughter back with him. She had been crippled for [754] some time, and people were saying that Cristobal had bewitched her. When her father died soon afterwards, Santian accused his brother of having killed him. [627] Cristobal's first wife confirmed this. However, Cristobal and Margarita denied the charge. When the /ún^{y}i/ asked

why he had delivered Margarita to his brother who was 595
too young for marriage, he remained silent. The punishment 684x
was to be fifty lashes each, but since they kept
protesting their innocence, the sentence was reduced
to twenty lashes each. 627

About a year after the death of Cristobal's 595
first father-in-law, a son of the dead man named Gorce 754
Cimarrón went to Colombia to hire a Cholo witch in an [787]
attempt to find out who had killed his father. The [177]
Cholo reported that Cristobal was the guilty one; so
Gorce went to Cristobal's house and accused him of the
murder, but Cristobal did not reply. Three days later
Cristobal was dead. Several years later, one of Cristobal's
brothers, Arcinto, heard of the affair and went
looking for a witch. Gorce died a few years later, and
his death was said to have been caused by the witch
hired by Arcinto. Arcinto still lives in *Viche* where 595
he also has two wives. He has never been punished as 684x
he never goes to the ceremonial center for *fiestas*.

In the space of certainly not more than a 586
decade the above case is found in at least one alternate 754
version: 627

Mariano takes a second wife. Mariano lived up 586
the *Río Esmeraldas* and was married to the daughter of 754
Pedrito Añapa's paternal grandfather. They had three 627
children, two girls and one boy. Mariano went looking
for another wife near *San José* on the *Río Cayapas*. He
had divorced his first wife and her father was very
angry over the affair. Consequently, the woman's brother
went to talk to Mariano who said that he had taken
divorce action because this woman did not work or cook
well. He also complained that she was older than he
and slightly lame. Mariano was a witch, and he told
the first wife's brother that he was going to kill his
father. About a year later, the old man did indeed
die. Following this, the brothers of the first wife
went to *Santo Domingo de los Colorados* and found a [787]
Colorado witch who told them that the death was caused, [177]
not by God, but by a man--namely, Mariano. For two
hundred and fifty *sucres* the witch offered to kill
Mariano. The price was paid and Mariano died about
four months later. The affair ended at this point with
no attempts at revenge.

While there are differences in names and loca- [595]
tions and in the length of time leading to the death

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of the father-in-law, the plot is the same and the kinship relations of the dramatis personae are the same. In both versions, the murdered man's son goes to seek revenge with the aid of foreign witches. The first version reports that Cristobal came up from Viche to cure Margarita, while in the second version, Mariano came up to San José. Margarita who is the wife of Alejandro of Encanto was said to have been the second wife of Cristobal and she was born near San José. While the unity and historicity of the two tales is not certain, it is reasonably sure. It is of some interest that polygyny is not a factor in the second version. In both stories, the first wife leaves the home with apparent reluctance. The second version was told to me by a member of the first wife's family and leads me to believe that the bone of contention that initiated the chain of events which culminated in murder was not polygyny but, rather, the divorce. It is of considerable interest to note that in the first version, Arcinto is said to be still living with two wives in Viche up the Río Esmeraldas and that he has never been punished. Clearly, one can avoid punishment by leaving the community at a distance sufficiently great to make the sending of a commission too expensive.

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sending of a commission too expensive. 595 684x

Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy. Rosenda was tried by the late /ún^{y}i/, Arcilio. He responded to Arcilio's statement that "Jesus never ordered man to have two wives" by saying that the devil told him to get a second wife. [556] He also pointed out that he was a very rich man and could well afford to maintain two women and that he needed two wives to help him cultivate all of his banana fields. [696] Fifty lashes were ordered, but Rosenda protested and he was only given twenty lashes. Because of the reduction in the number of lashes, he was fined thirty *sucres*. ⌊It is also said that he threatened to kill one of the officials before being sentenced.⌉ The woman received fifty lashes and that same day was given to a man from *Sapallo Grande*. Later that day, the woman and her new husband were overtaken by Rosenda at *San Antonio* just a few miles above *Punta Venado*. Rosenda told the groom that he was the woman's husband, that he had been drunk and had never ordered her sent away. The man from *Sapallo Grande* "was somewhat stupid," and handed her over. That night, Rosenda and his wife slipped down the river past

Punta Venado and went up the *Río Onzole*. They were never punished again. 595 684x

A brief alternate version of the above case has it that Rosenda was never punished "because he is an evil man who can afford to kill people by witchcraft. He also owns a revolver." [754] Another statement was recorded from Gerardo of Encanto, who said that Rosenda had been punished with twenty lashes and fined thirty *sucres*. He then got rid of the second wife, but he took her back within a year. "People gossip *but nothing more can be done, as he has been punished*." [626]

This case was recorded on September 16, 1960. On the eleventh of September, Rosenda's first wife came up to *Encanto* to visit with the mother of the Cimarrón brothers. [She is 'family' with the mother but not with the sons.] She had come up from the *Río Onzole* alone and had told Rosenda that she was ill and wanted to look for a *brujo*. [755] For this, she felt that she needed one hundred *sucres*, but Rosenda would not give her more than forty. The woman was very angry about Rosenda's lack of concern for her "illness." She told the people in the Cimarrón house that she wanted to leave her husband and go to her father on

the Río Verde. In fact, she said that she planned to 595
go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint 684*
was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much cry- [586]
ing and beating." She wanted to leave her husband
permanently. According to my informants, this would be
a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances,
and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without
her children, because "the father did not send them
along," and therefore within a few days she returned
home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that
Rosenda was looking for a third wife. 178

The area around Cojimíes is a bustling center 571
of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are 464
very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel [439]
section are the furthest removed from the banana trade
and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work.
Sometimes they work for Whites and sometimes for Negroes, [177]
but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the
first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together
and opportunities for liasons are greatly increased. In [595]
some instances, as in the following case, they end in a
polygynous marriage.

Renando loses his right and his second wife in a fight. Renando Añapa lives in Cojimíes. He had three sons by his wife. One day a man from the San Miguel section came down with his daughter to work, and moved into Renando's house. [No information was available as to names and possible relationships.] Renando began making love to the man's daughter, and finally he declared her to be his second wife. They lived thus for about five months. Eventually, during a party held just for visiting, where only guitars and not the traditional Cayapa instruments gave the musical background, Perdomo, a visiting official from the Sapallo Grande section, spoke to him about the affair. Renando became annoyed and accused Perdomo of committing adultery with his sister-in law, making him as much a sinner as himself. The upshot of this incident was that Perdomo ordered that Renando and his second wife receive one hundred lashes each. Soon after the punishment, the two men came to blows. After the party, Renando, his two wives, and the father of the second wife left for Quinendé, a long distance off into the interior. There they went to the house of a 'cousin' of the second wife. Renando and the cousin fought about the polygynous

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marriage, and the cousin aided by another man, soundly trounced Renando. After this, they sent the second wife to another Cayapa in *Quinendé*. That same day Renando and his first wife left to return to *Cojimíes*.

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The party held "for visiting" is worth noting because Cayapa never just visit among themselves. A new pattern is developing in the coastal regions where groups of unrelated Cayapa are brought together in a live-work arrangement that is quite foreign to the traditional patterns. "Guitars formed the musical background"--an indicator of the newly developing situation.

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It must also be noted that Renando was a member of the *Punta Venado* and the official who ordered him whipped was from the *Sapallo Grande* section, and the second wife, who was also whipped, was from the *San Miguel* section. The official did not have the second wife sent away, and it can only be surmised that there were no single men locally available for her. Renando was not able to keep the second wife *simply because he was not strong enough to do so*. It is becoming abundantly clear that the Cayapa cannot come to grips with a determined wrong-doer. The following case illustrates this in terms of polygyny.

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Cristobal marries his second wife in the Church. Cristobal Tapullo of *Muisne* had two wives. The first one only had one live birth, a daughter. The second wife is Carmelina de la Cruz from *Sapallo Grande*, and it is said that he married her in the Church. Carmelina knew that Cristobal was married when she went to him for the first time. The two wives were very angry with each other, but they never used more than verbal abuse, and Cristobal never attempted to interfere in their quarrels. Cristobal had gone to *fiestas* with both wives, but nothing was ever done about it, because he had married the second wife in the Church. Cristobal's /apínʸa/, 'brother's son,' Segundo Tapullo, also had two wives. He lived in *Muisne* in his own house. About six months after his first wife came to live with him, he went to a *fiesta* at *Sapallo Grande* to look for a second wife. He told the /únʸi/ that he was not married [in point of fact, he had not married his first wife in the Church], and that he wanted a wife. A wife was found for him, and he took her back to *Muisne*. When the second wife saw the first wife, she was very angry and wanted to return home, but she could not do so as the distance was too great. People wanted her to go to

Sapallo Grande to find another husband, but Segundo refused to allow her to go. Several years later the second wife's father came down, and the two men had harsh words nearly resulting in physical assault. The girl wanted to return with her father "but Segundo refused, being much stronger, and he knows more Spanish." 595 684x

Cristobal, by marrying the second wife in the Church, had placed himself in a position beyond the power of Cayapa law, and he could only be dealt with by Jesus himself. Segundo, it seems, had learned something from his uncle. He had the model of polygyny before him, and the speed with which he left his first wife to find a second well before the customary time for a Church wedding, indicates that he knew exactly what he was doing. The Cayapa consider one to be truly married only when the priest has performed the service. Whether this sophistry can be considered to be part of Cayapa legal thinking remains to be seen. The test will come, when, and if, Segundo visits any of the ceremonial centers during a fiesta. 595 684x 585

The statement " . . . and he knows more Spanish" appears to be something of a non sequitur; however, a man who speaks Spanish fluently to some extent controls 595 684x 191 177

events in the outside world of commerce and government. 595
For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak 684x
Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his 191
father-in-law. 177 One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Muisne has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. 595 684x It may very well be that Cristobal Tapullo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" [178] "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on 595 627 occasion even non-kin will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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A neighbor threatens to beat up a polygynist. Roberto Cimarrón, *a brujo*, had two wives. They lived a short distance above *San José* on the *Río Cayapas*. The women lived in separate houses several hundred feet apart connected by a small path. One day Roberto became intoxicated while he was curing a patient, and his first wife, who also was drunk, scolded him for having taken a second wife. Roberto had also married the second wife in the Church. He and his first wife came to blows, and Roberto eventually threw her into the river from which she was rescued by a passing Negro. Later, when sober, she went over to the second wife's house and assaulted her. In turn, after this attack the children of the second wife assailed the childless first wife. Roberto hid the second wife in the home of a Negro for about two weeks. His first wife knew what was happening and she was very angry. Eventually, Roberto moved the first wife into a small nearby *rancho*. *The family of the first wife never complained*, but the father of Romulo Añapa who was not related to any of the principles said that if Roberto did not get rid of the second wife, he himself would beat him up. Later, when inebriated, Roberto came over to the house of Romulo's father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich brujo, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romulo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

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The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygynists and would-be polygynists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Añapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

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Poor man attempts polygyny. Julio Tapullo who lived a short distance below Sapallo Grande had a crippled left arm. His wife, María Cimarrón, deserted him for another man named Segundo Añapa. Segundo who lived near Playa Grande on the Río Cayapas was already married to Petrona Cimarrón who was not related to María. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and María lived together for over a month. A 'niece' of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the /čatala/ from the Río Camarones; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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She told him the story, and when Aurelio returned home, he notified the /únʸi/, Gabriel, and the case was brought up at *Punta Venado* during Christmas of 1960. Julio Tapullo, looking somewhat embarrassed, stood alone off to one side with his crippled left arm, supported by his right arm, laid across his chest. He was dressed in rather shabby clothing. [Most Cayapa try to wear new clothing to a *fiesta*.] His wife and Segundo stood somewhat apart in the center of a circle composed of about sixty people. Everyone, including the /únʸi/, was very drunk. Gabriel asked why María had left her husband, and she replied that Julio was not supporting her and that he never bought her cloth and jewelry. Julio flatly denied everything. People in the crowd were saying that Julio could do as much work with his one good arm as most men could do with two. In the discussion between Gabriel and the two culprits it became obvious that they had come into contact quite accidently. Segundo had been out looking for a second wife at the same time that María had left Julio, and they met on the *Río Onzole*. Gabriel asked Segundo why he had felt he had to look for another wife when he already had three children, but

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the murmur went around, "por gusto," for pleasure. [Best translated here as, "for the hell of it."] They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plantain alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

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Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygyny had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Rosenda: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty sucre fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygyny were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygyny is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with me all of the on-going cases of polygyny presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

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all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late /ʃanʔi/. Aurelio.

The omnipresent theme seems to be that a truly determined wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a *de facto* acceptance of the illegal act that may be very productive of greater change ultimately leading to *de jure* acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

[P.69]

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The 423
region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to [177]
the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire 425
land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have
a clear title. The title is for the land itself and [493]
not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by [425]
cutting it out of the virgin forest (*monte firme*), he
may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available [311]
for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For
the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good 429
quality, well drained, and within easy access of a 490
navigable stream that flows into the main river body [245]
traveled by *La Frutera*, the banana buyers. In addi-
tion, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat
on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also in- [249]
crease the value of the land. Rubber is sold in [435]
Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than
in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted
by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,

Once a year, as a rule,
groups of Cayapa will band together for protection 249
against the cutthroats and brigands that infest the 476
coastal regions, load their canoes with as much rubber 439
as they have been able to collect, and set off in
small flotillas. Sometimes they are joined by a few [177]
Negroes. Bringing rubber into Colombia in this manner 439
is illegal and it is also illegal to bring back Colombian [648]
goods into Ecuador. The Cayapa are very conscious
of the illicit nature of the activity and the trip to
them is a big adventure. Rubber is their only economic
product that is of value in Colombia. The price varies [435]
from year to year, but generally fluctuates around the
equivalent of thirty dollars U. S. per one hundred
pounds. Unfortunately, rubber trees are subject to [685]
poaching.

If the land is sufficiently remote, it may be 311
good for raising pigs. (Remoteness lessens the possibility 231
of theft.) Fruit trees are very often planted 245
by women when they marry. The most popular fruits are
chirimoya, a kind of custard apple, oranges and *papayas*.
Large sections are planted to the *tagua* palm that, at [433]
one time, was as important economically as the banana
is today. The *tagua* nut is only a minor item in the [262] [342]

diet now, but the leaves are in demand for roofing mate- 245 [262]
rial. Another cash crop is hardwood trees, but they [342]
are not often planted; enterprising individuals cut [313]
them out of the unclaimed forest.

Land is seldom held in one large block. It is 423
usually scattered about among other holdings so that, [484]
quite often, choice properties are separated by distances
involving several day's travel. Many Cayapa have two [361]
houses, each built as close as possible to their main [342]
holdings. Inevitably, they must spend considerable time 423
away from large sections of their property and, as a 177
result, Negroes often illegally harvest standing crops
or, perhaps, plant their own. Negroes may buy land from [425]
the Cayapa, but as the banana economy continues to boom,
the Indians are more and more reluctant to sell. Some- [427]
times usufruct is rented by the Negro, usually for a
share of the profits, but arguments invariably develop.
It is said that the Indian is always at a disadvantage 423
in his dealings with the Negro because of the latter's 177
readiness to engage in witchcraft and "spoil" the land 754
for the Indian owner. If several members of an Indian's 425
family sicken or die, after a recent quarrel with a
Negro about land, it is assumed that witchcraft has been

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at work and that the land is spoiled. The Indian will then sell the land for the best price offered but will often take a lower price to avoid selling to the Negro held to be responsible for the witchcraft. 177 754 425

Sometimes, boys and young men are given sections of land as advance inheritances which they work as they wish, and their work validates their claim to the inheritance. Generally, only those children who have consistently helped the parents work the land are entitled to inherit. Ill will between parents and children need not enter into consideration at all. Maximino Añapa, for example, a son of Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones, as a very young child was sent to live with his mother's brother in Muisne on the coast, possibly to get him away from an influenza epidemic in the inland area. He stayed with his uncle for many years and helped him work the land; later he cut some out for himself. He used to return to his parents' home for visits of varying lengths of time, but the main attraction for him, however, seems to have been the school at Encanto. When needed, he helped his father work the land; however, he will not inherit any of the land because he said that it had all been promised to his brothers. Since he 428 423 593 [164]

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spent the greater part of his life living and working with his uncle presumably he will inherit land from the uncle. His rights to such an inheritance, however, are still legally ambiguous, as the following reported dispute indicates.

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A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship. Some years ago when *taqua* was still selling well, Romulo Añapa and Trivinio "owned" some land jointly. Trivinio's mother had been the legal owner of the land originally. The manner of kinship between Romulo and Trivinio is not known. Trivinio was lazy and "never" worked the land, whereas Romulo helped Trivinio's parents. After the death of Trivinio's parents, Romulo agreed to sell all of the land for about eight hundred *sucres* to Marianito Añapa "who is somewhat related." Meanwhile, Trivinio sold half of the land to Sanchi, his /ačinʸa/, 'sister's son.'

One day, a widow related to Romulo and Sanchi built a small *rancho* on the section of land that Sanchi believed was his by purchase. He threw the old woman off the land and she went crying to Romulo, who became very angry. A meeting was called in the house of Santiagueño Añapa, and Romulo pointed out that the land was really his as he had worked it, while Trivnio as a boy was lazy and never helped. Romulo, therefore, demanded the money that Sanchi had paid to Trivinio, plus more on the grounds that they were not family. Since Marianito had paid half of the agreed upon money to Romulo, he owned half of the land with clear title. If Sanchi wanted to keep the other half, he would have to make an additional payment to Romulo. Sanchi refused to pay any more money, and Trivinio refused to hand over the money he had received from Sanchi. Romulo and Trivinio are enemies to this day, and apparently the case never went to the chief for settlement. Sanchi continued to own the land that he had paid Trivinio for, and Marianito continued to own the land that he had bought from Romulo. In both instances, exactly half the land went to each purchaser. 423 428 578 627

The principle of kinship, perhaps, has not been overridden by the principle of working the land, and the de facto inheritance was an equal division, that, in fact, seems to have been tacitly recognized by the 423 428 578

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principles themselves and constructive notice seems to have bean drawn from the circumstances known to all of the potential buyers. Romulo wanted to sell all of the land but actually was offered, and accepted payment for, only half. He alone believed that he had the right to make a conditional sale of all of the land to Marianito. Trivinio made no pretense of selling more than half and did not object to Romulo's selling the other half, a recognition of the principle, at least in part, that work validates ownership of the land. The issue, however, was moral, rather than legal and since it was not completely resolved, Romulo and Trivinio have become life-long enemies. Marianito, who bought half the land, will not leave any to his son Maximino, precisely because Maximino has not been readily available to help work the land.

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Although ownership of land is validated by use, it is not necessary for property to be in continual use to validate ownership. A person may have clear title, either through purchase, inheritance, or by clearing the land from monte jivaro, which will be recognized by his contemporaries, but as land is never registered, 423 428 [425] except when sold to a Negro or a White, if it is seldom used, the children and grandchildren may not be certain of the ownership and of the boundaries. Such problems may be resolved fairly easily if older people with knowledge of the original land transactions can be consulted, but the presence of such people, of course, can never be guaranteed. Land that is not in active use is always in jeopardy as illustrated in the following case.

423 685 *Huru Cimarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father.* Many years ago, the father of Huru Cimarrón sold some land that actually belonged to the father of Romulo Añapa. The purchaser was another Indian. When the real owner of the land was told of the sale he protested to the chief, who sent up a commission to get Huru's father. Huru was a child at the time. During the proceedings, his father remained silent, although he was ordered to pay back the one hundred *sucres* that he had received from the sale and was then fined thirty *sucres* which went to the chief.

423 627 Some years later when both fathers were dead, Huru tried to claim the land. He and Romulo fought at

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Punta Venado, with relatives of each man joining the fray. After order had been restored, the chief stated that the land belonged to Romulo and that Huru was too young to have known what had happened earlier. Huru wanted Romulo to pay twenty sucres damages for cutting his head in the brawl, but Romulo refused on the grounds that Huru had started the argument. He did however, buy a half bottle of rum, which they consumed together. Both Huru and Romulo are "family," but the manner of relationship is unknown.

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Boundaries of land become well known with usage and may be disputed when the land is not used intensively. In either case, disputes may occur but are more apt to require settlement by a third party, if the boundaries are not well known.

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A Negro official renders a Cayapa-type decision. After Sanchi built a house on his land, he observed one day that Perdomo had planted bananas nearby. Sanchi insisted that they had been planted on his land and, with his mother's brother, Heverico, called in Cristobal, the Negro Inspectór of the village of Camerones at that time. Cristobal decided that Perdomo should keep

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the crop but that when the plants were dead, the land should revert to Sanchi. Meanwhile, Marianito complained to Perdomo that the land was really his. Perdomo asked why he had not worked the land before, and Cristobal, the Inspectór, ignored the claim. Sanchi paid Cristobal ten sucres for his services.

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The decision was acceptable to both claimants. It followed the reasoning, apparently, that although the land belonged to Sanchi, he was not working it at the time. There seems to have been a general feeling that the land was monte jivaro and never had been worked before. It did however, adjoin the acknowledged property of Sanchi. By disputing Perdomo's use of the land, he signified his intention of using it. Perdomo was at a disadvantage because he had no land adjoining the section under dispute. Cristobal balanced propinquity and intention on the one hand, with actual use on the other, in reading his decision. The decision definitely acknowledges the land as belonging to Sanchi, but Perdomo was permitted to profit from his labor. The dispute occurred several years ago, and in 1960 it was being said that Perdomo planned to use the land again.

Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting. About 1955, Pedro José planted some calabash trees to mark the boundary between his land and the neighboring land of Antonito Riki. One day, while working near the line, he spotted some cacao plants that had been planted on his side. He said nothing at the time, but some weeks later, during a wake given by Kalía at his daughter's death, Pedro José became drunk and inquired of the group at large, and of Antonito in particular, "Who planted the cacao?" Antonito admitted the act, and an argument began which soon developed into a general fight. Kalía stopped it after a while, stating that he did not want people to fight when he was sad over the death of his daughter. Pedro José wanted forty sucres damages for the blows to his eyes but Antonito, backed up by his mother, refused to pay and Pedro José left the wake with his daughter. Later he uprooted the cacao plants, but nothing more was ever done.

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Although the uprooting of the cacao plants was an act of spite, Pedro José was justified, as the boundary was clear and well-known. Ordinarily, Antonito could have expected to profit from the labor he expended in planting the cacao, but by getting drunk, fighting, and then refusing to pay just damages, he effectively cancelled his proprietary interest in the cacao plants. That nothing more was ever done, indicates a feeling of *ex post facto quid pro quo*.

Decisions given by the /ún^{y}i/ concerning unauthorised planting often follow the decision made by the *Inspectór* Cristobal in the case of Sanchi vs. Marianito. Cristobal's decision was but one alternative in the Cayapa legal repetoire. It is not a very popular decision, because by the time the land has reverted to its original owner, most of its fertility is gone. This type of decision, however, seems to be applied when the claimant's title to the land is very clouded as a result of not having used it. In these instances, the decision is premonitory: it states very clearly "*nota bene*, work your land, or lose it." The following case decided by the /ún^{y}i/, Gabriel Añapa, illustrates this point.

Land used just for rubber tapping is jeopardized. In the early part of 1960, Ciro Añapa and his elder brother made a trip to *Pichiyaco*. Upon their arrival they were notified by a relative that their land had recently been planted without permission by the Cimarrón brothers of Encanto. 423 685 Ciro and his brother were angry, but said nothing until they became drunk at a party at the home of Gabriel. Harsh words were exchanged, but Gabriel settled the case. He decided that the Cimarrón brothers could use the land for five years without any cost, but then the land would revert to Ciro and his brother, Santiagueño. Ciro did not like the decision and pointed out that the land would have to remain fallow for five years so that he would lose its use for ten years. [648] There were about twenty-five rubber trees on the land, Ciro said, and if the trees were tapped by the Cimarrón brothers he would take the case, not to the /ún^{y}i/, but to the authorities at Limones.

The Cimarrón brothers claimed that the land did not belong to Ciro and Santiagueño. Ciro claimed that the land belonged to his father. The major issue lay in the fact that Ciro and his brother did not plant crops, but only tapped the rubber trees. [314 240] Rubber tapping *per se* involves very little work, and no clearing of bush. It cannot be equated with the work of clearing and planting the land, weeding, and harvesting. Ciro's claim was definitely in jeopardy. It is interesting that he threatened to go to the provincial authorities. In discussing the case with the writer, Ciro stated that "the /ún^{y}i/, is not worth much, and when it comes to collecting fines, he doesn't do so. If need be, I will go to *Limones*." To be sure, Ciro was disgruntled with the unauthorized planting and the decision ruling it, nevertheless, in effect, he accepted it. The rubber trees became his main concern, although the /ún^{y}i/ did not specifically prohibit the Cimarrón brothers from tapping the trees. Gabriel's narrow decision left the door open for further litigation.

When title to the land is clear, decisions indicate that the owner should profit from unauthorized plantings. This may just as easily be stated in reverse, however; namely, the interloper is entitled to a substantial part of the fruits of his illicit labor. This point is illustrated in the following variant of a case described to the writer by the /ún^{y}i/.

The usurper is awarded limited usufruct. Some years ago, Pablo Candalehu asked Marianito Ñapa to sell him a small piece of land about twenty arms-length long.

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Marianito refused, saying that the land was worthless. Although Pablo built a house and planted the land, Marianito never complained. Recently, however, Marianito planted bananas and plantain on some of Pablo's land which also had a stand of about thirty rubber trees. Pablo went to see Marianito, but he remained silent, apparently out of shame. During a party in *Encanto*, Pablo notified the /ún^{y}i/. When all the people gathered, Marianito's wife said they would stop all work on Pablo's land. The /ún^{y}i/ replied that they should continue to work. As the first crop is usually small, they decided, it would all go to Marianito, but following crops were to be divided equally, and "when the crop dies, the land is Pablo's."

As an aside, Gabriel remarked that Pablo long ago had paid Marianito ten *sucres* for the land, but the other version of the case disputes the payment. In the case described above, Marianito came out slightly ahead; in the following version, the outcome is very different indeed.

The usurper is awarded substantial usufruct. For many years, Pablo Candalehu had been working parts

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of Marianito's land. Marianito had never objected, but recently had planted some plantain, beans, and corn on the land being worked by Pablo. Pablo complained to the /únʸi/ who decided that the land would revert to Pablo after the plantain died. Pablo wanted to be able to cut half of the crop, but Gabriel refused to permit this. He decided that the land would go to Pablo, if Marianito were no longer able to use it.

It does not really matter which of the two versions most closely approximates the truth. What is important, is that Gabriel's version seemed to warrant one type-decision, and the other version seemed to warrant another. In the latter version, Pablo, by his complaint, upset a precariously balanced situation of tacit reciprocity. In winning his case, however, he lost it, for after the land has been in use for many years it must be fallow for a period, so it is useless for many more years. The version of Gabriel hinges on whether or not Pablo had indeed paid for the use of Marianito's land. It was assumed that he did and, therefore, his complaint against Marianito's action was valid, and Marianito was ordered to share the gains of his unauthorized planting with Pablo.

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It is the nature of the tropical rain forest that neglected clearings revert to a condition closely resembling the pristine within a few years. In this event, it is difficult to determine whether or not one is cutting virgin growth. From time to time, this leads to a conflict that may be settled in any of the ways described above, or may be handled in the manner illustrated below.

Antonito demands a quit claim. About 1957, Ciro Añapa and his brother Santiagueño were told by Antonito Añapa, that they were working on some land that he had cut from *monte jivaro*. When Ciro's brother saw the land, however, it looked like jungle once more, and he pointed out that it must have been many years since Antonito had worked it. At a party at Trivinio's house when everyone was drunk, Antonito demanded one hundred *sucres*. Ciro replied that he never remembered Antonito's working the land under dispute. Heverico, who was present, told Ciro and his brother to pay the hundred *sucres*, saying that, after all, it was not a large sum of money. Heverico, however, did not know if the land belonged to Antonito or not. Ciro and his brother agreed to pay the

423 685 hundred *sucres*, but did not. During Christmas at *Punta Venado*, they were approached again, again agreed to pay, but failed to do so. Antonito later came to their house up the *Río Camarones* and then they paid the money.

[425] The land is now the joint property of Ciro and Santiagueño, and they have clear title. The question of whether the one hundred *sucres* conveyed title by a sale, or served as a quitclaim is moot. Given the nominal price and the cloudy state of Antonito's ownership, the transaction could best be viewed as a quitclaim.

423 685 425 177 203 626 Indians seldom register land in their names, but if they sell land to a Negro, the transaction is usually registered at the insistence of the purchaser for his protection. Consequently, the Cayapa is never required to show proof of ownership; his statement that he owns the land for sale is sufficient. Some Cayapa find the prospect of selling another man's land, without his permission and knowledge, a beguiling one, and rumors are constantly being circulated of one or another Cayapa thinking of doing it, doing it, or perhaps having completed the transaction. In any event, the hurling 000

of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning 423
fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to 685
squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in 203
the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious [426]
in intent, as seems to have been the case in the
following instance.

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro
Añapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter.
Through the system of *compadrazgo* they are considered [608]
to be family, /búlutála/. She apparently spends a
good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his
annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain
to the /ún^{y}i/, he does not do so because they
are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in
Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he [426]
had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads
rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day
as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimarrón
brothers and their mother visited him because they
had heard that he had sold their land in *Encanto* to a
Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she
had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother,

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and she returned to her house where she continued to cry "like one does at a funeral." The Cimarrón brothers remonstrated with Ciro, who remained silent, ashamed, because "three mouths were speaking against me." All left except Segundo Cimarrón. Ciro asked him who had made the accusation and was told that it was Segundo's brother-in-law who was married to his sister, the very one who had been constantly gossiping about Ciro. Segundo then demanded fifteen hundred *sucres*, saying that they were not family anymore. Ciro replied that he did not have the money, and more to the point, that the charges were not true.

When the Cimarróns' mother went home to weep "like one does at a funeral" it meant that someone was going to die, which made Ciro's brother, Santiagueño, very angry, so that, at a party, he spoke very harshly to the Cimarrón brothers. The proliferation of baseless rumors involving land transactions such as those described above, is a realization that the Cayapa's hold on the land is becoming increasingly more tenuous as the expanding banana market causes the land to increase in value. This point was made very clear by Joselino Caisero, the Negro *Inspectór* of the village of *Camarones*,

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who discussed land problems with the author. His arm described a broad arc over the Río Cayapas flowing before us as he said, "The Cayapa think that they own the land, but they just hold it by our grace." It is small wonder indeed, that the Cayapa rumor mill creates innumerable variations on this basic theme.

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As we have noted, it is generally agreed that the right of ownership is validated by working the land. Often a group of brothers will work the land together, which is regarded as an ideal situation as brothers should be together, just as the term for brother, /só.tala/, means 'come together.' The actual working of the land imposes little problem concerning ownership, but for a stand of rubber trees that requires no maintenance at all, a problem is posed.

Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers. Nuro Cimarrón and his brother Segundo, came to blows at a party held at the school house in [illegible]. Their father had owned a piece of land just below the [illegible], up the Río [illegible], on which were some rubber trees. Nuro wanted to tap some of the rubber, but Segundo had arrived at the site first and made off with the latex. Boro claimed that the land was his, as he was the eldest son, and Segundo/agreed to leave the untapped trees for Boro. But they are three brothers, and the /ča?u/, to avoid further fighting, divided the land three ways among them.

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The rubber poacher began most of the problem. Baplócio Bario had a piece of land on which was a stand of about fifteen rubber trees. Chapico tapped them without permission and collected about fifty pounds of rubber. He turned the rubber over to his brother, Bertram, who went to Colombia with Pablo Ñapa and two Negroes, Brtupicio and Manuel Caicedo. Bertram sold the rubber for Chapico. Boro Cimarrón had noticed that the trees were tapped and told people that Ciro had done the poaching. But Santiagueño, Ciro's brother, had seen Chapico skulking in the vicinity and told people that the trees had, in truth, been tapped by Chapico. Boro's wife, who is Baplócio's sister, became very angry with Chapico and said that if she were a man, she would beat him up. Some time later at a party in Zapallo, Baplócio approached Chapico and asked how much he had gained by the sale. Chapico did not argue, and

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settled for thirty sucres.

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Given this very low settlement [Chapiro probably made at least two hundred sucres]. It would appear that the interloper can realize most of his profits from illicit rubber tapping, while the owner of the trees can only plead mea culpa for not having been there first! Nuro Cimarrón had been "outraged" by the theft of the rubber, nevertheless one wonders what he was doing in the vicinity of his brother-in-law's trees. Similarly, Santiapaña could only have seen Chapiro "skulking" if he too, had been in the vicinity of the trees. Everyone seems to have had a bit of larceny in mind.

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It is seen that in terms of land, work, and rubber, cultivation is not only a means of producing foodstuffs but of authenticating ownership as well. Thus, the individual who appropriates part of someone else's land is permitted, as a rule, to benefit from the act to the extent of his invested labor; if the purported owner accepts the appropriation without protest, that is, without indicating his own intention and desire to work the land, then the ownership of the

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land is acceded to the cultivator. The theft of rubber appears to be more an indication of industry than of wrongdoing, and whatever criminal aspects exist are usually expiated by the sharing of the profits.

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The stealing of pigs, however, is in a totally different category. Unlike land, there is never a clouded title to the ownership of the animals, and unlike land, the fact of ownership of the animals is sufficient to establish the owner's legal rights. Pigs are not worked as is land, and increased production is left entirely up to the pigs. No matter how hard a pig thief may work--and, sometimes, he must run for miles across difficult country to round up the animal(s)--his industry brings him no rewards when he is caught, because he has contributed no productive labor. As a matter of fact, pig-stealing is recognized as an offense, although the thief may not be punished. The following case is illustrative of this point.

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The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief. Lorenzo Añapa became ill some time in 1957 and went to Sapallo Grande to consult the /ûnʸi/, Jesusito, who is a curer. The treatment lasted two weeks. When Lorenzo

returned, he found that his pigs were gone. He suspect- 685
ed Perdomo of having taken them, and for one year he 422
questioned residents of the area for evidence. At last [694]
he found the Negro who had bought the pigs and he identi- [439]
fied Perdomo as the man from whom he had bought them. [177]
Lorenzo took this evidence to the late /únʸi/, Arcilio, [695]
who returned with him and held a hearing. Perdomo was
present, but said very little in his own defense as
Ramón, a Negro employee of the man who had purchased
the pigs, identified Perdomo as the seller. The pigs [696]
had been sold for five hundred *sucres*, and the /únʸi/
ordered Perdomo to pay four hundred *sucres* to Lorenzo,
fifty *sucres* to the witness, Ramón, and fifty *sucres* as
a fine to the /únʸi/, who had lost two days work to
attend to this matter.

Perdomo was not permitted to keep any of his ill-
gotten gains nor, aside from the shame of being uncover-
ed as a thief, was he penalized in any manner. As a
rule, irregularities involving pigs are settled quickly.
If a pig eats the produce from someone else's garden,
for instance, payment is made for the produce without
question. Occasionally, however, a quarrel involving [627]
pigs may become quite serious as is seen in the following

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account of a dispute that occurred about sixty years ago.

A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder. Gerardo's elder brother, Reninio Perdomo, had a sow that was just about ready to drop her young. She ate some plantain belonging to a neighbor who administered a severe beating to the sow. That same night the litter of piglets was born dead, and soon after, the sow died also. Reninio became highly incensed and beat up the neighbor. His anger still not assuaged, he decided to move to the coast, for otherwise he might kill the neighbor and then be imprisoned as a result. He could not tolerate the idea of imprisonment. "People now said that it was better to move out, than kill and get thrown in jail."

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The case is interesting because of the murderous passions invoked by the beating of the sow and her subsequent death--passions that were not aroused when land or rubber were involved. In addition, the case is of interest because it is the only known incident in which an individual, rather than commit murder, chose exile.

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In marked contrast to the sexual sphere, decisions involving land always involved a compromise solution, a balancing of conflicting claims. It appears to the writer that compromise solutions of this type preclude punishment for the usurper. Restitution rather than punishment or partial profit marks settlement of pig-stealing cases, because the thief does not have a claim based upon productive work. The compromise solutions in land disputes reflect a basic acceptance by all parties to the dispute that work validates ownership and keeps the boundary lines and title clear.

CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by 157
anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation [273]
is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through
the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by ex- 154
tremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa 273
drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals;
they drink for joy and sorrow; they drink out of fear
when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the
world; and they drink to screw up enough courage to
bring litigation before the chief. While they are not
at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent
dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a [157]
deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a gen-
eralized fear of others, an inability to maintain
friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forward-
ness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner 121
(Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that 182
there is a connection between the primary institution 155
of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and
the system of law and government
as their derivatives

the system of law and government as their derivatives. 000

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework. 155 273 [154] [121]

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of 155 838 273

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homoerotic play is evident during *fiestas* and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

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During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity.

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The oral fixation derived from anal frustration *at such a very early period*, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or *frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.*[7] Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

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For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The *vagina dentata* motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the *Río Tigre*, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the *San*

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Miguel section and, after reaching an agreement on the location of a house, I made a down payment for the purchase of roofing material. Two weeks later I returned with my family, but was told that we could not settle in the San Miguel section: the inhabitants were afraid of us, as they had heard we were cannibals. The rumor had been started by people of the Punta Venado section who wanted us to live with them. Earlier, a resident missionary had started a small dispensary among the San Miguel group, and another missionary was conducting a very large medical practice in the Sapallo Grande section. Since the people of Punta Venado wanted a medical gringo, too, they started the rumors of our cannibalistic propensities to frighten the people of San Miguel into rejecting us so that we would move in with them. They told the stories with such gusto that for a brief period, even after we settled among them, they believed the fantasies were indeed true.

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It is not only the complex of sphincter training, nursing and weaning that convinces the young boy that the world and its objects are threatening and cannibalistic, but play behavior also. A common game that parents and older siblings play with young males is to

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hold the child high overhead, open the mouth and then close it over the child's genitals. The game is never played with female children. As far as gross observation can tell, the experience is not at all frightening to the child; it is, however, oral incorporation of no mean order and fits quite comfortably within the pattern that is beginning to unfold. Alternately rejected and over-indulged, the child is unable to develop a sense of security, personal worth, or control over his behavior.

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> What enduring qualities are rooted in this muscular and anal stage? From the sense of inner goodness emanates autonomy and pride; from the sense of badness, doubt and shame. To develop autonomy a firmly developed and convincingly continued state of early trust is necessary. The infant must come to feel that his basic faith in himself and in the world (which is the lasting treasure saved from the conflicts of the oral stage) will not be jeopardized by this sudden violent wish to have a choice, to appropriate demandingly and to eliminate stubbornly. . . His environment must back him up in his wish to "stand on his own feet" lest he be overcome by that sense . . . which we call shame, or that secondary mistrust . . . which we call doubt (Erickson 1950: 80-81).

"Autonomous motivation," for Dorothy Lee, is the sine qua non of the human condition (Lee 1961:103-121). But autonomy and pride or doubt and shame are derived from the resolution of the problems that beset the child

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through the various stages of his psychosexual development. For the Cayapa, autonomous motivation and independence is considerably reduced and heard only faintly in a very muted minor key. Even the penis is said to be able to think for itself, at least in terms of sex, for "when the penis wants to bother a woman it erects itself." This seeming lack of involvement or control of an erogenous body area has been amply demonstrated in terms of Erickson's psychosexual approach. This is paralleled to some extent by Robert W. White's discussion of effectance motivation, wherein the organism attempts to develop competence and mastery over his environment, and competence, states White, finds expression elsewhere, as well as in the erogenous bodily zones. As we shall see, this is most certainly not an either/or proposition, but more in the nature of a complimentary approach to Erickson's framework. White's position is very important for the light it throws on the Cayapa data, and requires an extended quotation.

> Clearly we are dealing with important problems of development, but is it correct to place the decisive struggle in the bathroom? Does the child in toilet training provide an adequate model, a sufficient interpretative nucleus, for all that is going on? Let us

introduce again the competence model and see whether or not it can help us with the problems of this stage. It is worth noticing at the outset that direct observation does not give the libido theory the kind of support it provided in the oral stage. To be sure, there is plenty of evidence, even in the pages of the clean-minded Gesell, that children are interested in anal functions, that they play with feces, and that they experience frustration and conflict over the process of training. But direct observation would never suggest that these happenings were the central preoccupations of the second and third years, nor would introspection convince us that retaining and eliminating could have anything like the intensity of oral pleasure. The evidence for a stage of predominantly anal libido thus rests heavily upon the reconstructions that occur in psychoanalytic treatment. On the other hand direct observation has long recognized a sharp and significant crisis in human relations, usually called two-year old negativism . . . We may be dealing here with a profound *intrinsic* crisis in the growth of social competence.

Let us ask what the child accomplishes during the second and third years in the way of competent interactions with his environment. As regards locomotion he starts as an awkward toddler, but by the middle of the second year he becomes a restless runabout . . . It is this picture of persistent, driven motor activity that led Mittelmann . . . to postulate a *motility urge*. The second and third years . . . show the most rapid growth of motility; he even asserts that at this stage the motor urge "dominated all other urges." Motility is seen by him as "one of the most important avenues for excercising such functions as mastery, integration, reality testing, and control of impulses--usually referred to in analysis as ego functions." There is an increasing emphasis now on motor accomplishment leading to self-esteem (White 1960: 115-116).

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Given his peculiarly harsh, intense and very early training in sphincter control, the Cayapa's autonomous motivation, or competence, is derived in no small degree from the little drama that is enacted daily on the causeway behind the cooking area. This interpretation of the rigorous training, however, does not refute the importance of the motility urge, but enhances it. As a rule, the child undergoes the severe training in sphincter control and perhaps weaning, at the same time that he is frustrated in his exploratory forays outside the house, precisely when he is in the stage of heightened motility. The Cayapa house is usually built without walls; it is a roof supported by tall posts, and is perched above the ground on a hill overlooking a river. If the infant should manage to climb down the ladder to the ground, and somehow avoid tumbling down the hill into the river, he must still contend with snakes that are fairly common in the area. As a result, he is not permitted to master, integrate and test the world outside his home. He is confined within the house except for family movements for work-visits with relations or to fiestas [where he is still confined within the limits of the house] This confinement lasts

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until the child is about four years of age. The Cayapa child between the ages of three to five is marked 155 855 by what appears to be incipient rickets, rotted teeth [146] and skin diseases that stem from a marked deficiency in vitamins A, C and D. [Prior to this time the child may have bean extremely healthy.] During the period of confinement to the house he is effectively blocked off from sunlight within the house and on canoe trips he is placed under a canopy. [262] While fruit is plentiful, it is seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the river side. The child is permitted, indeed encouraged to eat refined sugar by the fist full and to drink soda pop. During his fifth year when he is permitted to leave [146] the confines of the house he is able to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit; then the incidence of skin diseases decreases and his ricksty appearance disappears.

The low sexual drive of the adult male Cayapa 155 is best reflected in his replies to questions on the 831 frequency of coitus. 853 Recalling that sexual prowess is admired, 152 married men in their late twenties and early

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thirties spoke of "maybe twice a week." It would appear that the Cayapa, even at his braggadoccio best, operates sexually at a very low level. One Cayapa termed coitus "medio trabajo--a little like work." Another informant, when asked if he enjoyed sex, replied, "Siempre me gusta, pero no mucho--sure I like it, but not much." It is my impression that there is a very large minority among the Cayapa who feel along with Lord Chesterfield that "the position is ridiculous, the pleasure is momentary, and the price is outrageous."

The women's genital behavior is more forward, as attested by our legal material, so that it must be asked, "If female children receive the same kind and amount of toilet training as the male, and the same nursing and weaning, how can this come about, especially since I have postulated that the male sexual patterns arise out of oral fixation which is the result of the juxtaposition of harsh sphincter training and breast feeding and/or weaning?"

Both males and females strive for greatly intensified oral incorporation [not only is sexual intercourse spoken of as the vagina eating the penis, but a man tells a woman with whom he enjoys sex "/nʸĩ suámbu/--

your vagina is delicious," but the matter is resolved 155 831 833
differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'graspiness' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erikson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is *psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male*. [279]
Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

Affiliative behavior. Affiliative behavior is 155 571 572
characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, becomes formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

sexual-social development. This leads to friendship relationships of one kind or another, and as we have been told, in bi-lateral societies, these relationships are especially marked by elaborate gift giving or other dyadic exchanges (Sahlins 1960:76-87). For the Cayapa, affiliative behavior, as expressed in these terms, can only be found in rudimentary form. One might almost say that the Cayapa practice a form of avoidance behavior that is extended to all non-kin. This avoidance is not pronounced with the Negroes and Whites. Commonly, one may see a Cayapa guiding his canoe downstream, coming abreast of another Indian poling his way upstream. They turn their heads away from each other and pass in silence, unless they are family or very well known to each other. When an Indian passes a Negro or a White, or passes in front of their houses, loud salutations are exchanged. From within a Cayapa house, when the sounds of a canoe on the river are heard, people rush to the edge of the house and peer intently; if it is a Cayapa canoe, excited whispers are heard "/čači/" which means 'people.' No word is exchanged, the "people" in the canoe glide past with averted glances.

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At the Negro village of Camarones, Indians 155
wander about and visit casually the homes of many of 572
the Negroes whom they know. Among themselves there 574
are no casual visits to friends--there are really no 177
friends, with the possible exception of some of the 609
pupils at the Encanto Indian school. The language [871]
has no word for "friend" beyond the Spanish loan-word. [192]
There is family and not-family and, one does not visit
family casually either. There must be a purpose beyond
a desire just to visit. Dyadic relations are easily 155
set up with the Negroes and are quasi-friendships that 572
are quite clearly instrumental on both sides. I have 177
no count but my decided impression is that prestation 609
increases markedly between Indian and Negro. Negroes
very often ask to become a god-parent for a minor
ceremonial occasion when the child's nails are cut
for the first time. The nail parings are placed in a
cup of rum and drunk by the father and the Negro god-
father. Small gifts are exchanged of little monetary [491]
value, and food is consumed along with the alcohol.
Thenceforth at very irregular intervals, small presents
will be exchanged. Gifting, while not especially gen-
erous on any level, showed an apparent increase with [123]

the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

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> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child—their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1953:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa—much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by accidents or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong *fiestas* at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homo*sexual per se*, but *erotic* in the sense of a transfer of libidinal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the *fiestas*. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1953:269), why then do we not find it in the *sexual*

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

> The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy; a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supercede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Bieber 1962: 181).

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The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

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Manifest homosexualism would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound 155
feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person 838
who would persistently and doggedly pursue this 178
rather striking innovation. It should be noted that
the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual
practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe [839]
some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

In the recently built Indian school at Encanto, [872]
boys and young men now maintain, for several months of [572]
the school year, a high frequency of interaction with
non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings
of chumship are beginning to form that never existed
before. Given the increase in duration and frequency
of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass
over into homosexualism.

Friendship is a most novel situation for the 155
Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In 572
his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship 123
may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be 124
adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was [177]
completely new, especially in the informant relationship.
This was the closest approach to friendship,
in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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Given the psychological factors that have been discussed so far, it would seem that some informants could only unconsciously structure the relationship in terms of possible homoerotic feelings which could develop in a situation of increased duration and frequency of interaction with one person. This is what the informant-anthropologist relation does. When I would begin to use other informants, as an anthropologist must, the first informant would react in terms of rejection, and pout; he would gradually become withdrawn, and finally break off the informant relationship. The situation is quite similar to the "camarada complex" described by Ruben E. Reina for Chinautla in Guatemala (Reina 1959:44-50).

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A similar situation was revealed in the matter of giving rides in my motorized canoe whenever I went on long trips. For example, Lorenzo Martín once asked for a ride when I planned to go up to San Miguel and I agreed. A time was set, broadly enough to take account of Cayapa casualness regarding time. He never arrived at all! When next seen he said that I should have waited much longer than I did, and he was clearly offended that I had not. At another occasion, he came

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he consider to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

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Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong committment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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anxiety of Cayapa life.

Given these features of Cayapa life and culture it may be seen that tribal cohesion can best be achieved by means of a chief who fulfills the requirements of dominance that goes hand in glove with attitudes of submission in a people who lack both confidence and competence. Political behavior as described in the body of the text may be viewed as a projective system, in Kardiner's terms, wherein an attempt is made to mold the present chief into an image of their ego ideal.

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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

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The nexus between the realms of Cayapa law, government, and politics, can be found in the area of personality and social structure. The law derives from a functional complex that is characterized by a deep-rooted anxiety, sexual inadequacy, heavy permissive and dependent drinking, periodic political behavior, and individual deviant behavior that ultimately leads to sweeping socio-cultural changes. The framework of this complex, and its legal derivative, is a society that is bi-laterally organized and lacks corporate bodies; whose only action groups are marked by constant changes in personnel, as individuals and family members move about tending their widespread land holdings. Cayapa fear and anxiety, coupled with a generalized fear of others, effectively blocks the formation of action groups that are more than temporary unions of very short duration. Even non-kin dyadic friendship groups were marked by extreme instability as the bonds of friendship are being constantly tried and probed and usually found wanting.

and probed and usually found wanting. 000

Cayapa law readily lends itself to a division 671
into Civil and Criminal law. The former is concerned 691
mainly with property (especially land) while the latter 423
is preeminently concerned with sexual behavior and sin. [684]
In the realm of Cayapa Civil law, especially in cases [695]
that involve land, legal decisions are compromises in
the sense that the usurper is permitted limited return
on his labor. There is agreement by all parties to
the dispute that land as such is owned, but lacking
written records, the best proof that a claimant to
land ownership has is evidence of his having worked
the land he claims. Work is the best validation of
ownership, but the land need not be continuously worked;
however, as work is neglected, and as memories fade,
ownership is contested. Basically, land disputes involve a claim by the usurper that the original ownership is in jeopardy. These claims are always balanced
with the claims of the owner and a compromise solution
is reached. The land, in effect, is shared for a period
of time and the owner is warned that he must continue
to work his land intensively or be subject to further
challenges to his ownership. Compromise is an effective [622]

solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling 671
alliances with one party as opposed to the other. 691
Whether this serves to enhance the position of the 423
chief in his role as third person in the legal process, 622
is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of /ún^{y}i/ is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

In the legal materials dealing with land it is 671
seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in [691]
complete agreement as to the nature of land and its [423]
ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody
shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa [684]
represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land [595]
disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what [178]
the basic issues and values are. Women are valued
goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply.
A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not [695]

possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element 671
of sin is also a factor, and the /ún^{y}i/ cannot condone 684
sin. He must condemn the parties involved in the 595
polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a 178
conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather [695]
new values that markedly conflict with traditional
values. The individuals holding the new values refuse
to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision
based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of
the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral [696]
decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is
superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties
have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior,
further punishment is left to God, and the
polygynous union may continue.

For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict 671
of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, 684
conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously 178
presents a new value position that encourages incest and
adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery [695]
is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible
perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful
behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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non-compromise position. Persistence in transgression, however, is tantamount to the defense of new value positions that leads to _de facto_ compromise. The Cayapa judge, with the legal avenues that are open to him, cannot handle a strong personality, that is, one that either develops new values, as the polygynist, or the one that refuses to be deterred from wrongdoing, as in the case of the persistently incestuous couple.

Eventually, _de facto_ compromise may assume the dignity of social acceptance. The effective restraint of the poor would-be polygynist, as opposed to the _de facto_ acceptance of the wealthy polygynists, may lead to the formation of class distinctions; that is, a wealthy man will be permitted to have more than one wife but a poor man will not be permitted to enjoy this privilege. Normally, it would be expected that incest could achieve social acceptance only with great difficulty, but from an examination of the case of Lorenzo Ñapa (p. 159) it becomes clear that the incest range for some people is narrowing considerably, for in this case the incestuous arrangement has been given the express approval of the families concerned and _de facto_

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compromise on the part of the /ʃunʸi/ permits the continuance of this union.

Many things somewhat beyond the ordinary cannot be handled directly, but only by means of _de facto_ compromise or latently. Every society is an action system that in one degree or another utilizes specific innovations for definite ends. Often, the latent functions of an innovation incur more sweeping changes than do the manifest ones. For example, the manifest function of the Indian school was to increase literacy. Its latent function was to increase homosexual behavior. The cultural emphasis for the Cayapa seems to be that of latency, and sweeping changes come about, not because they are sought, but because the socio-psychological matrix of the law can only permit _de facto_ acceptance of threats to basic values.

Cayapa law, in terms of _de jure_ decisions is not at all able to "redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change" (Hoebel 1954:275). Cayapa culture is not, however, moribund. Extraordinary socio-cultural changes are taking place _precisely because_ the law cannot accommodate

671 178 easily to new economic changes and value positions which are redefining relationships between people. The redefining of a situation, or the creation of a new structural arrangement, very often involves legislation or political behavior. For the Cayapa, new definitions and new structural arrangements cannot be legislated through *de jure* decisions; nor can they take place through primary political involvement due to the paucity of strategic political possibilities inherent in a bilateral system that lacks corporate bodies which may be utilized in the formation of alliances; rather, they take place by means of *de facto* compromise.

671 178 642 Some authorities maintain that political behavior involves the "formation of new principles of organization" (Siverts 1960). That is, groups or individuals who have differing ideological or value commitments attempt to restructure society. In these terms, Cayapa behavior is not so much political as governmental. It is concerned mainly with the maintenance of stability and the *status quo*. Such political behavior as is found among the Cayapa apparently stems from periods of uncertainty that are in part sociological and in part psychological. When a new /únʸi/ takes the reins

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When a new /únʸi/ takes the reins of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /únʸi/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /únʸi/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /únʸi/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /únʸi/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /únʸi/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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131. Chapiro caught in flagrante delicto.

133. The seduction of Gabriel's daughter by Chapiro.

137. Carmelina, a crippled girl, is taken by a marriage commission over the protests of her mother.

141. Romulo appeals to a White official.

143. Perdomo fights for his sister.

146. Mother removes her daughter from the bridegroom's house.

148. A widow marries a single youth.

151. Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back.

153. A man refuses to return to his wife after being punished.

157. A case of double desertion and incest.

156. Adultery between a woman and her son-in-law.

159. The incestuous widow.

159. When incest is no longer incest.

161. The determined incestuous couple.

162. The light punishment of the philandering Captain.

166. The young fornicator defended by a cousin.

167. The cuckold protests in vain.

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170. The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no.

171. Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife.

174. Mariano takes a second wife.

176. Polygyny defended as the right of the wealthy.

179. Perdomo loses his second wife by losing a fight.

181. Cristobal marries his second wife in Church.

184. A neighbor threatens to beat up a polygynist.

185. A poor man attempts polygyny.

193. A conflict of the principle of inheritance by work-validation and the principle of inheritance by kinship.

196. Nuru Cimarrón attempts to claim land sold illegally by his father.

197. A Negro official renders a Cayapa-Type decision.

199. Antonito forfeits his profit by fighting.

200. Land used just for rubber tapping is jeopardized.

202. The usurper is awarded limited usufruct.

203. The usurper is awarded substantial usufruct.

205. Antonito demands a quitclaim.

207. Rumor mongering causes a family dispute.

209. Rubber trees are divided into three parts for three brothers.

210. Rubber poacher keeps most of the profits.

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212. The owner of stolen pigs tracks down the thief.

214. A foraging sow is killed and the owner chooses exile over revenge-murder.

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[For cases involving sex and marital offenses and the punishments imposed see category 118, pp. 121-128, 148-188.]

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[For examples of unsanctioned polygynous marriages see category 116, pp. 171-188.]